o. 32 ● AUGUST 18, 1986 A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS ISSN 0206-1473

NEW TIMES

University of North Carolina at Greensboro

This wristwatch, on display at the museum in Hiroshima, stopped on the morning of August 6, 1945, a fearful moment when the war bequeathed to the world nuclear death, the threat of universal annihilation. However, mankind believes that common sense will prevail, that a new period will begin in the life of humanity, and that this exhibit of the Hiroshima museum will no longer give us cause for concern over the future of civilization.

ARITHMETICS AND POLITICS

Arithmetics is by no means irrelevant to politics. The material components of politics readily lend themselves to numerical expression. At times, however, figures fail to convey the full magnitude of this or that political move. Western speculations over the Soviet leadership's decision to bring six Soviet regiments home from Afghanistan before the end of this year is a case in point.

The London Times wonders whether this figure is a large or small one and concludes that militarily the Soviet Union's initiative is not a big gesture. Washington's reaction to our decision was much the same. It has also hastened to dismiss the move as one of "little importance."

In this issue we introduce our readers to diametrically opposite views on the new Soviet initiative, that have been expressed by those whom our decision concerns directly and therefore carry more weight.

In this connection we should like to draw the readers' attention to another figure -- 15. This is the number of nuclear tests the United States has carried out since the declaration of the Soviet moratorium on its nuclear tests exactly a year ago. Now, is this figure big or small? An absurd question, surely. For what matters, in the final analysis, is not the figure as such but the tendency behind it.

The six Soviet regiments returning home from Afghanistan are also evidence of a certain tendency. This is yet another concrete step along the path of building an all-embracing international security system mapped out by the 27th CPSU Congress. The purpose of our move is to help bring about a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, to give a new impetus to the Afghan-Pakistani negotiations now being held in Geneva through the good offices of the U.N. Secretary-General's representative. This first step of ours may be followed by other similar steps. It was stated in Vladivostok that in the event a final settlement was worked out, the Soviet side would be prepared to speed up the return of all its troops from the D.R.A. with the Afghan leadership's consent.

The matter does not rest solely with us, however. The problems connected with Afghanistan have been created by those who hate the idea of other nations managing their own affairs. By its peace initiative the Soviet Union seeks to ease the tense situation around Afghanistan. It hopes that those who organize and carry out the armed intervention against the D.R.A. will appreciate the Soviet Union's goodwill gesture and respond to it accordingly.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

It is with a feeling of deep satisfaction that I ponder on the decisions adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. I was particularly impressed by the party's honest and frank analysis of complex domestic and foreign policy issues. To my mind, this is the most effective search for the way forward. I wish every success as you make confident strides along this way.

Holger TOPPER
Torgelow, G.D.R.

I was deeply moved by a letter from Comrade Parrabi, Italy, published in issue No. 25. He expressed his solidarity with my country not only in words. His money order for the Chernobyl victims is one more proof of the unfading proletarian brotherhood.

Valentina SERZHINA
Murmansk, U.S.S.R.

Robert Raitt, a reader from the United States, claims in Taking Up a Point (issue No. 18) that he was struck by "one of our main differences—the freedoms we in the U.S.A. enjoy and their absence in the Soviet Union." Mr Raitt seems to apply purely American yardsticks to all aspects of our life. However, we live in a completely different society which does not fit in with the concepts he has formed. We strictly observe the provisions of the Helsinki agreements relating to human rights. Soviet citizens can address any government body, including the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. (the Soviet parliament), with requests, suggestions and critical remarks. All government bodies are obliged to consider the letters sent by citizens and reply to them. I wonder if U.S. government bodies are obliged to reply to protests and criticisms made by Americans.

Veniamin KLUNICHENKO
Krasnodon, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

НОВОЕ ВРЕМЯ · TEMPS NOUVEAUX · NOWE CZASY · TIEMPOS NUEVOS · NEUE ZEIT · nová doba · TEMPI NUOVI · TEMPOS NOVOS

32 August 18, 1986

Founded 1943

3 Asia and the Pacific. Facing the Choice

4 U.S.S.R.—India. A Stabilizing Factor in World Affairs

8 Afghanistan. A Goodwill Gesture

9 Sixtieth Birthday of Fidel Castro

14 Aeroflot Today and Tomorrow

17 China. Visiting Zhejiang Province

21 The Berlin Wall: a Frontier Between Two Worlds

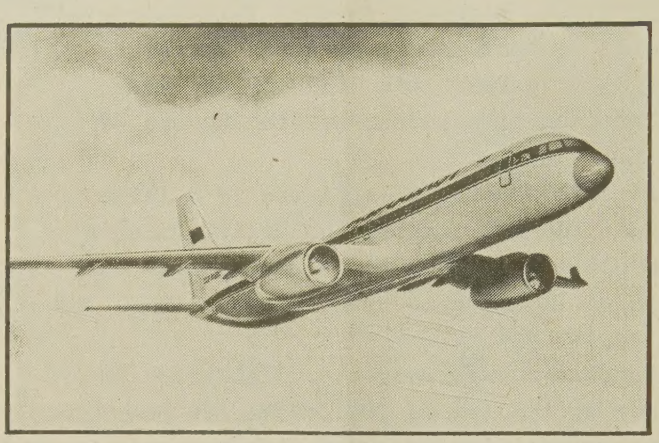
25 Bulgaria. Robots at Work

27 Report from Brazil (concluded)

32 Kasparov-Karpov. That Enigmatic Rook

THE EDITOR'S PAGE (1). INTERVIEWS (5, 13). PANORAMA (10). APPOINTMENTS (24). TAKING UP A POINT (31).

COVER: A poster issued by U.S. peace champions



ONE OUT OF EIGHT

airline passengers in the world flies by Aeroflot. Soviet airmen have helped to discover mineral deposits and to build mammoth projects in Siberia and the Far East. They have also signally contributed to promoting international cooperation. In an exclusive interview Boris Bugayev, Minister of Civil Aviation of the U.S.S.R., describes Aeroflot as it is today and its prospects.

p. 14

LAND OF SILK AND TEA

is how the Chinese once dubbed Zhejiang Province, where still extant are numerous relics of yore that attract thousands of tourists. No wonder, as this was the beginning of the legendary Silk Way, which Marco Polo described in his time. Grigory Arslanov describes the innovations that the economic reform has introduced in the life of this Chinese province.

p. 17

CLOSE AND CONSTANT

In his Vladivostok speech Mikhail Gorbachev highly assessed the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. The ties between the two countries are distinguished by stability. They "have stood the test of time," India's Minister for External Affairs and Commerce Shiv Shankar said in an interview to our correspondents in connection with the 15th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation. Our correspondents report from Delhi on the very promising outlook of bilateral relations.

p. 4

Editor-in-Chief: VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors: L. BEZYMENSKY, V. CHERNYAVSKY, S. GOLYAKOV, Y. GUDKOV, A. LEBEDEV, A. PIN, B. PISHCHIK, V. TSOPPI, D. VOLSKY.

Design by A. GARANIN

Editor of English edition: E. SMIRNOV

NATO or Helsinki?

Putting big initiatives into practice is no easy matter, especially if they stem from new, unconventional political thinking. This makes it all the more significant that the idea of "holding a Helsinki-type Pacific conference to be attended by all the countries gravitating towards the ocean," put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech, attracted universal attention. Let's face it, this attention is not of a uniform character. Steadfast peace champions have expressed resolute support for the idea, but there are also those who say that a "Pacific Helsinki" is a good idea, but quite unrealistic. This opinion is to be heard not only, say, in Japan or Australia but also in some of the non-aligned Asian states. And what about the United States? According to Washington Post, "State Department officials said the U.S. does not favour such a meeting under present circumstances."

"Under present circumstances..." But is the Soviet Union so naive as to think that the time for such a meeting is ripe? A Pacific conference is a long-term objective. Carrying it out would require tremendous effort and, above all, will. To believe Washington Post, the U.S. Administration prefers an attitude of skeptical disapproval to action.

Well, life will always take its course whether anyone likes it or not. Once the idea of holding a European conference also met with a skeptical, not to say hostile attitude on the part of Washington. An entirely different—anti-Soviet, anti-socialist—approach to European affairs came to predominate there back in the forties and found its embodiment in the NATO bloc. And now Washington would like to re-enact the NATO story in the vast Pacific region. It has even suggested a name for the NATO equivalent there—"the Pacific community." It is to include not only the U.S.A., Japan and Australia, but also the developing countries that are members of ASEAN and possibly some other big Asian countries. This conglomerate of states is to oppose the Soviet Union and its Asian friends, to establish a legal mechanism whereby the United States' partners in the Pacific could be drawn into the Pentagon's war preparations and the positions of imperialism there strengthened generally.

"Almost all the countries to be included in the 'community,'" a publication issued by an Indonesian university this summer says, "maintain bilateral cooperation with the United States both in the defence sphere and in the sphere of military aid. What's more important, all of them are within range of the U.S. Seventh Fleet which covers a zone stretching from the Hawaii through Subic Bay [a U.S. base in the Philippines] and the South China Sea all the way to Diego Garcia. Therefore the creation of the 'Pacific community' will mean an actual recognition of U.S. military superiority and U.S. control over the Pacific and Indian ocean routes outside the member states' territorial waters."

> **"We would suggest, even if not as an immediate objective, a Helsinki-type Pacific conference to be attended by all the countries gravitating towards the Pacific Ocean. When (and, of course, if) we succeed in agreeing on its convocation, we shall also be able to decide on its venue. One possible candidate is Hiroshima. Why should not this city—the first victim of the atomic evil—become a sort of 'Helsinki' of Asia and the Pacific?"**
>
> **From Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok**

The resemblance of the proposed bloc to NATO is striking indeed. This is no mere coincidence: the "community" is supposed to complete the "encirclement" of the U.S.S.R. from the west and the east. The difference between the two is also much in evidence, and it lies not only in "East being East, and West being West," to paraphrase Rudyard Kipling. The root of the matter lies elsewhere. Most of the Western states in the North Atlantic have similar socio-political systems and approximately the same level of development, and share many customs and traditions. The East, on the other hand, the Pacific region in particular, is marked by striking contrasts arising from the uneven pace of historical development of the countries in the area and for the most part inherited from colonialism and neocolonialist exploitation. Washington and Tokyo now intend to perpetuate this system of exploitation by creating a local NATO equivalent.

Aren't they expecting too much of a fragile idea even before it is carried out? It is not for nothing that Washington is now talking about "a system of cooperation" rather than a "community," although both names have the same meaning. All this is idle talk anyway which evokes no positive response in the developing countries of Asia. It is quite safe to predict that the "Eastern NATO" project will remain on paper—or rather on geographical maps. But besides geography, history also has a part to play here: it is much harder to do in the eighties what could have been done in the forties.

Over the past decades the peoples have acquired a wealth of political experience—both negative and positive—which is not confined to any one state but knows no frontiers. The record of these decades shows, with utmost clarity, that it is not the aggressive North Atlantic doctrine which puts the world in jeopardy that has stood the test of time, but an entirely different political concept based on the common interests of different countries seeking to strengthen international security and promote equal cooperation. In Europe, it manifested itself in the Helsinki process which, despite all setbacks, lessens tension and ensures a certain degree of stability. And this is what the Asian and Pacific nations now need most. That is why the Helsinki experience is so valuable to them. An objective analysis of this experience shows the realism of the new thinking, as Moscow's example proves.

We are far from suggesting that the diplomatic methods used in Europe be mechanically transferred to the Pacific region which has specific features of its own that need to be taken into account. Instead of looking for some nonexistent traps, it is necessary to show respect for the legitimate interests of all nations and to refrain from bringing pressure to bear on them from the outside. Neither should anyone think that everything will be plain sailing. This is a complicated matter. The important thing is to make a start—and it has actually been made. The discussion that has begun, to which the impulse has come from Vladivostok, is convincing evidence of this.

D. VOLSKY

Soviet-Indian fruitful cooperation is

a stabilizing factor

in international relations

August marks a double jubilee: August 9 is the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation Between the U.S.S.R. and India, and August 15—the 39th anniversary of India's independence. In his Vladivostok speech Mikhail Gorbachev remarked upon the moral authority and traditional wisdom of India, its unique political experience and enormous economic potential. "We set great store," he said, "by the contribution it has already made to the establishment in the international community of norms of equal coexistence and justice. Friendly relations between the U.S.S.R. and India have become a stabilizing factor on an international scale."

The coincidence of the two jubilees—that of India's independence and that of the Soviet-Indian treaty—is most significant, and indicative of the laws governing the development of the world today. In the article that follows we sought to illustrate these laws with concrete examples.

On Friends and Interests

In the summer of 1971 the situation on and around the Hindustan subcontinent was quite tense. The people of what was then Eastern Pakistan—separated from the western part of the country by India's territory—rose up in arms for their statehood. The central authorities responded with ruthless reprisals. Tens of thousands of refugees poured into neighbouring India. Delhi adopted a decision which was not easy to arrive at considering the circumstances: to relieve the birth pangs of a new state. In response, the U.S. sent the striking force of its 7th Fleet to the Bay of Bengal. It is clear from secret documents made public in Iran recently that the idea was to perpetrate military intervention in India. This plan was foiled largely due to the resolute stand taken by the Soviet Union.

"In a word," Sardar Swaran Singh, the then Minister of External Affairs, said in a New Times interview, "the situation on the subcontinent was quite complicated and alarming. Delhi sought a peaceful solution to the problems which had arisen in the region. However, external forces tried to block these efforts. It was against this background that the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation between our countries was signed in the Indian capital on August 9, 1971." Sardar Swaran Singh signed the document himself.

Was the treaty an outcome of the specific circumstances of 15 years ago? It has been said that a treaty is a concentrated expression of the results achieved in the development of relations. Well, the Soviet-Indian treaty did record all that had evolved naturally in the relations between the two nations for decades. Let us recall Lenin's appeal for extending a hand of friendship and brotherhood to the Indian and all the other peoples of the East. Three decades later Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that India and the Soviet Union were neighbours and that the relations between them should naturally be those of good-neighbourliness and friendship.

"These are just the type of relations that had taken shape between us long before the treaty was signed," Sardar Swaran Singh told us. "Our cooperation made substantial progress in many fields. The Soviet Union helped India build large installations in the key industries. Our two countries maintained close contacts with each other in the in-

ternational arena as well, primarily in the matter of strengthening peace and security. Therefore, the ex-Minister of External Affairs stressed, the two countries came to the conclusion that their close cooperation in various fields had to be put on a contractual basis, so to speak. The treaty provides a firm groundwork for the further broadening of cooperation for the good of both nations, and for the sake of universal security and peace.

Before Leaving for Moscow

Shortly before his recent departure for Moscow in the capacity of India's new ambassador to the Soviet Union, T.N. Kaul, a veteran Indian diplomat and a prominent public figure, shared with us his thoughts about the foreign policy aspects of the treaty.

"As he talked with me in connection with my appointment to Moscow, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi said that the further development of relations with the Soviet Union was important not only for our two countries, but for the cause of world peace as well.

"After the Janata Party government had entered office in India in 1977," T.N. Kaul went on, "the U.S. tried to impose the concept of so-called 'equidistance' on India's non-aligned policy. However, the non-aligned movement is not neutral. It stands for independent relations with all countries on the basis of mutual trust and mutual benefit. That was how the U.S.S.R. perceived Delhi's policy from the very start; your country saw the importance of India precisely in that it is a peace-loving nation. As for the U.S., I think it still fails to admit India's peace potential. Furthermore, the U.S. is trying to encircle our state and other countries friendly to the Soviet Union with hostile forces. It has never succeeded in doing this, and won't now. The policy of domination will not work.

"Today," T.N. Kaul says, "the world situation is perhaps more complicated than it was in 1971. The threat of war has increased. Therefore, our treaty is a factor of stability, now even more so than ever. Both nations must make an even more active use of this document through mutual consultations on questions of peace and security.

"Our friendship," the veteran Indian diplomat said in conclusion, "is not based on time-serving considerations. Its foundations were laid long before the signing of the treaty. India had Soviet support during the liberation of Goa, on the Kashmir issue, and during the events which accompanied the emergence of Bangladesh. All this has

INTERVIEWS

India's Minister for External Affairs V. P. Shiv Shankar:

A Very Promising Outlook

India's Minister for External Affairs and Commerce, V. P. Shiv Shankar, has kindly agreed to answer the questions put to him by New Times in connection with the 15th anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.

Indo-Soviet relations have been developing for several decades. How would you comment on this example of cooperation between countries with differing social systems?

Indo-Soviet relations are based on certain abiding principles. Both India and the Soviet Union are committed to the principles of sovereign equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual benefit in the conduct of their bilateral relations. Indo-Soviet relations have grown from strength to strength in diverse fields and have stood the test of time. The two countries share common interests—the quest for world peace, disarmament and development. Over the years we have been able to establish close bonds on people-to-people basis in both countries. Our relationship has thus now come to stay, and we have proved that our friendship is not based on mere interests. Given our mutual commitment to these clear principles, it is only natural that our friendship should derive strength with the passage of time.

What is the significance of the treaty for our bilateral relations?

The Indo-Soviet treaty serves as a shining example of how relations between two friendly countries with different social, political and economic systems should be conducted. The treaty signifies the commitment of the governments and peoples of India and the Soviet Union to the cause of world peace, friendship and cooperation.

It is apparently not by chance that the word "peace" comes first in the title of the treaty. Peace not only between our friendly countries but in the world at large. What is the significance of the treaty for the maintenance of world peace?

India and the Soviet Union share a common commitment to the cause of strengthening world peace. It is in keeping with this commitment that the word "peace" comes first in the title of the treaty. The shared commitment of our two countries to the cause of strengthening world peace and working steadfastly to save the planet from the scourge of a nuclear conflict, which would result in the destruction of human civilization, constitutes a significant factor in reducing international tensions and promoting global cooperation for disarmament and development.

What would you say about the prospects of Indo-Soviet relations?

Indo-Soviet relations have always had bright prospects. The mutual commitment of the leaders of the two countries further to enrich our wide-ranging and diverse cooperation is reinforced by the growing friendship and mutual good will of the peoples of our countries. The forthcoming festival of India in the Soviet Union and the festival of the Soviet Union in India will be another occasion to realize the immense potential that exists in Indo-Soviet relations to bring together the peoples and cultures of our countries. Our economic and technical relations also have a very promising outlook. I am confident that our relations will further expand and diversify, opening new vistas of cooperation in the years to come.

convinced the Indian people that the Soviet Union is a sincere friend. The U.S.S.R. has always been sympathetic towards the ideals of the non-aligned movement. Moscow adheres to the constructive policy of peace and détente. We support the U.S.S.R.'s announced moratorium on nuclear tests, its proposals for the freezing of nuclear arsenals and for banning the production of nuclear weapons. These proposals are consonant with the well-known initiative by the six countries, India included."

A Soviet engineer with Indian colleagues at the Vindhyachal hydropower project.

Outside the gates of the Bhilai steel plant. TASS photos

Further Inland

Soviet-Indian bilateral trade and economic cooperation has by now spread to various fields, including the key ones vitally important to the development of India's entire national economy. In the opinion of certain quarters outside and inside India, the Rajiv Gandhi government's current policy of modernization through a wide-scale introduction of high technology makes it necessary for Delhi to turn to the West. Here is what Mr Vasant Sathe, the Union Minister of Energy, told us on this account:

"It was precisely with Soviet assistance, as our past record shows, that we have gone a long way towards carrying out the ultimate objective of all our plans—to attain self-sufficiency. The Indians are grateful to the Soviet Union for its understanding of the political essence of our economic efforts."

The extraction and production of energy carriers is now believed by many to be the most promising sphere of cooperation between the two countries. India is increasing its petroleum output yearly.

Mr Rajinder Singh, general manager of Mathura Refinery, which was built with the technical and economic assistance of the U.S.S.R., told us the following:

"Today our refinery, which is the most modern and the best equipped one in this country, processes over 6 million tons of petroleum a year into many kinds of gasoline, diesel fuel, technical oils and other petroleum products. After further modernization, its output capacity will increase to 7.5 million tons by early 1988."

While talking with us, the general manager and experts of the refinery often used the English word "debottlenecking" which was rather unfamiliar to us. Mr Singh explained its meaning and added:

"Oh no, we have no complaints to make about Soviet equipment at all. It is highly reliable and suits the Indian conditions well—which, incidentally, is confirmed by the performance of the other two oil refineries built with the Soviet assistance in Barauni and Koyali. Besides, its design enables us to modernize the refineries at a minimum cost."

While inspecting the refinery, we noted that Soviet-made equipment was interspersed with units bearing the trademarks of well-known Indian companies. Like other products of Indian-Soviet cooperation, Mathura graphically demonstrates India's ever growing industrial potential. In the 39 years of independence the country has made impressive scientific, technological and economic progress.

While showing us around the refinery with its intricately intertwined pipelines and a fractionating tower 67 metres tall, Mr Subbarao, chief production manager, explained to us the niceties of the refining process and lavished praise on the Soviet experts he had worked with on the construction site for years. He admired their high professional standards and said he had made good friends wth them. Therefore, we weren't much surprised to hear him say in Russian as we parted, "Thank you, comrade."

On our way back from Mathura we stopped over in the small village of Nari Samri, which one of us had visited some six years ago. He said he found it unchanged, with bearded elders sitting as imperturbably as before on the thresholds of their unpretentious homes, peasants working in the fields all around, and women in brightly coloured frocks—though faded in the bright Indian sun—bringing in water from a nearby lake in clay jugs poised upon their heads. Six years ago when the ground had just been broken for the Mathura Refinery, none of Nari Samri's 200 residents as much as suspected that the Soviet Union existed, or knew of the relations of friendship and

cooperation between the two countries. And now Om Prakash, 22, did not only utter the word "Moscow" without much difficulty but also told us that he and many of his fellow-villagers knew about the Russians' participation in building a plant in Mathura. And local kids who flocked around our car—who, with the rest of India, will enter the 21st century in 15 years' time—joyously responded to the word Mathura by pointing in the direction of the refinery hidden beyond the horizon. For all we can tell, its gate may prove to be their gate to the 21st century.

What Will They Take to the 21st Century?

What lies in store for these children at the end of the century: confrontation? or reliable security and equal international cooperation? The Indian public links this question with Mikhail Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech. All Indian papers noted the warm words of the Soviet leader concerning India. The part of the speech setting forth a programme for drawing the Asian-Pacific region into the general process of building up an all-embracing international security system especially attracted their attention. Here are some of the comments.

"The guaranteeing of security in Asia," P.N. Haksar, a prominent Indian public figure, said in a New Times interview, "is becoming the key prerequisite for safeguarding a lasting peace and preventing nuclear war. The need for Asian security is becoming as imperative as that for European security. This is why the time has come for all the Asian nations to work out together the appropriate mechanism of reliable security on the continent—a mechanism which would suit the specifics and realities of this part of the planet.

"Certain circles in Asian countries," P.N. Haksar continued, "have developed a kind of a conditioned reflex: to reject outright any proposal for Asian security coming from Moscow. Such an approach runs counter to the genuine interests of the continent's nations."

The words of this well-known Indian public figure imply that certain small groupings regard Delhi's active joining in the all-Asian discussion of security as toeing the Moscow line. But it was India that as far back as 1947 initiated a conference on relations between Asian countries. Addressing the conference on its opening day, Jawaharlal Nehru, the founder of the modern Indian state, said that Asians had been crowding the Western offices' waiting rooms as suppliants for too long, and that such a situation could no longer be tolerated. Nehru said Asia wanted to stand on its own feet and to cooperate with all those interested in cooperation, and that it did not wish to do the bidding of others.

This wish of independent India's first Prime Minister has not yet been fulfilled in many parts of Asia.

"The reason for it should be sought in the continuing imperialist presence—political, economic and military—in Asia," C.P. Bhambhri, an outstanding representative of the academic world, explained. "Asian states must realize that behind all the conflict situations which mar the relations between the peoples of the continent—be it the Iran-Iraq war, the Afghanistan and Kampuchea 'issues,' the clashes on the Hindustan subcontinent—there are external forces trying to perpetuate neocolonialist exploitation in this part of the world.

"If external imperialist forces," the scholar went on, "are prevented from interfering in the internal affairs of this region, its nations will find it easier to solve their problems."

The Indian public is coming to realize to an ever greater extent that these problems are aggravated by the imperialist interference in Asian affairs.

"From the Korean peninsula all the way to the Middle East," V. Chopra, a leading Indian journalist, said in a New Times interview, "the body of the Asian continent is ulcerated by local conflicts which could lead to a global conflict. These dangerous conflicts have been caused by Washington's expansionist policy which aims at making Asia (like Europe) a theatre of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. Stopping the militarization of Asia and eliminating the imperialist presence in all forms would contribute to the strengthening of security on the continent," V. Chopra said in conclusion.

To begin with, Delhi maintains, the U.S. should stop its neoglobalist encroachments on the independence of Asian states. The persisting tension in connection with Afghanistan, for which Washington is to blame, has an adverse effect on the overall atmosphere in the region. How has the Indian public reacted to a Soviet step towards a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan—the decision, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, to withdraw from Afghanistan, before this year is over, six regiments of the limited Soviet troop contingent there?

Asrarul Haque, a prominent Moslem figure of India, President of the influential public organization, All-India Quami Ekta Committee, made the following comments on this score:

"On the one hand, Washington increases allocations for the continued outside interference in Afghanistan's affairs and arms counterrevolutionaries with ever new and modern weapons, including the Stinger missiles; on the other hand, Moscow reduces its troop contingent in that country. A comparison of these two approaches will show who is really interested in a political settlement. This is why the Soviet act of good will has been unanimously approved in India.

"This Soviet move," Mr Haque went on, "is another link in the chain of proposals aimed at ensuring security in Asia. Unfortunately, the U.S. responds with nothing of the kind. Under the circumstances, Asian countries must redouble their efforts to give an extra impetus to the positive tendencies on the continent. The Helsinki process in Europe had a difficult start, but in the end it triumphed. If an all-Asian conference of the Helsinki type were held at Hiroshima, as Mikhail Gorbachev suggested, this Japanese city would become not only a symbol of the deadliness of atomic weapons but also a harbinger of a better future for Asia."

L. ZHEGALOV
S. IRODOV
Our Own Correspondents

A Goodwill Gesture

NOOR AHMAD NOOR,
member of Political Bureau,
People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

Like Europe, Asia too must become a continent of peace. Every Afghan is aware of the importance of this theme underlying the speech made by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok, for our country's destinies are indeed inextricably bound up with the destinies of the entire Asian continent.

Revolutionary Afghanistan has welcomed the speech in which the Soviet leader put forward concrete and constructive proposals on improving the situation in Asia and the Pacific. A videotape of his speech was relayed on national television and all the country's leading newspapers carried a detailed summary of it, with special emphasis on paragraphs that directly bear upon the regional conflicts in Asia. This is quite understandable, as such conflicts are the sources of international tensions which jeopardize peace and stability in the continent. One such source of tension is the situation that has evolved around Afghanistan.

It may be recalled that virtually on the very next day following the April 1978 Revolution our country became the victim of armed intervention by external forces, in particular the U.S. and its close NATO allies, and also Pakistan and Iran. Washington's complicity in the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan developed with time into its spy department's biggest clandestine operation; the CIA spends a good portion of its budget on subversive actions against the D.R.A. U.S. ruling circles will stop at nothing in their attempt to destabilize the situation in Afghanistan and prevent our people from building a new life and creating a society of social justice.

Moscow calls for a settlement of all conflicts in Asia through peaceful negotiations. Afghanistan shares this view. It entered into indirect talks with Pakistan through the U.N. Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs Diego Cordovez. At these talks, of which the seventh round is currently under way in Geneva, the basic principles for normalizing the situation around Afghanistan are discussed. Meanwhile, the recent decision of the Soviet and D.R.A. governments to have six regiments of the limited Soviet military contingent withdrawn from Afghanistan before the end of this year reaffirms once again the readiness of Kabul and Moscow to do all in their power to bring the Geneva talks to a successful conclusion.

This decision also indicates that the political situation within our country is becoming stabilized and that the Afghan people are increasingly giving their support to the revolutionary government. Although it would be premature to say that counterrevolution, subsidized and supported by the U.S. and regional reaction, has been completely defeated, in recent months it has been hit hard and in several provinces its positions are now much weaker.

Simultaneously with the offensive against Afghan counterrevolution, local government bodies are being consolidated. Afghanistan has 31 electoral districts. In 23 elections to the jirgehs, the local bodies of power, have already been held and in another three they are taking place now. In September elections to local bodies of authority will have been held throughout the country.

Members of local government bodies include workers, peasants, artisans, representatives of the national bourgeoisie, clerics and representatives of other strata. The social and national composition of the jirgehs demonstrates the PDPA's fidelity to its policy of broadening the social base of the revolution and of securing peace, accord and national reconciliation.

The decision to withdraw some Soviet units from the D.R.A. refutes Western propaganda's vicious claims that the Soviet Union will never pull its troops out of Afghanistan. They would have left the D.R.A. long ago, were it not for the continuous outside interference in our domestic affairs. However, developments show that the West, which shouts the loudest about the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, in fact least of all wants a political settlement of what it calls the "Afghan question." Ringleaders of the Afghan counterrevolution are received in Washington, Bonn, Paris and other Western capitals and are provided with millions of dollars to engage in terror and sabotage against the Afghan people. Throughout the years of the undeclared war that has been foisted upon us, thousands of peaceful Afghans have died, while the damages inflicted upon our economy have already exceeded 45 billion afghanis. The bandits perpetrate all these crimes on the spurious pretext of "defending Islam in Afghanistan." Actually, they not only kill pious Moslems, but also systematically destroy mosques and murder clerics.

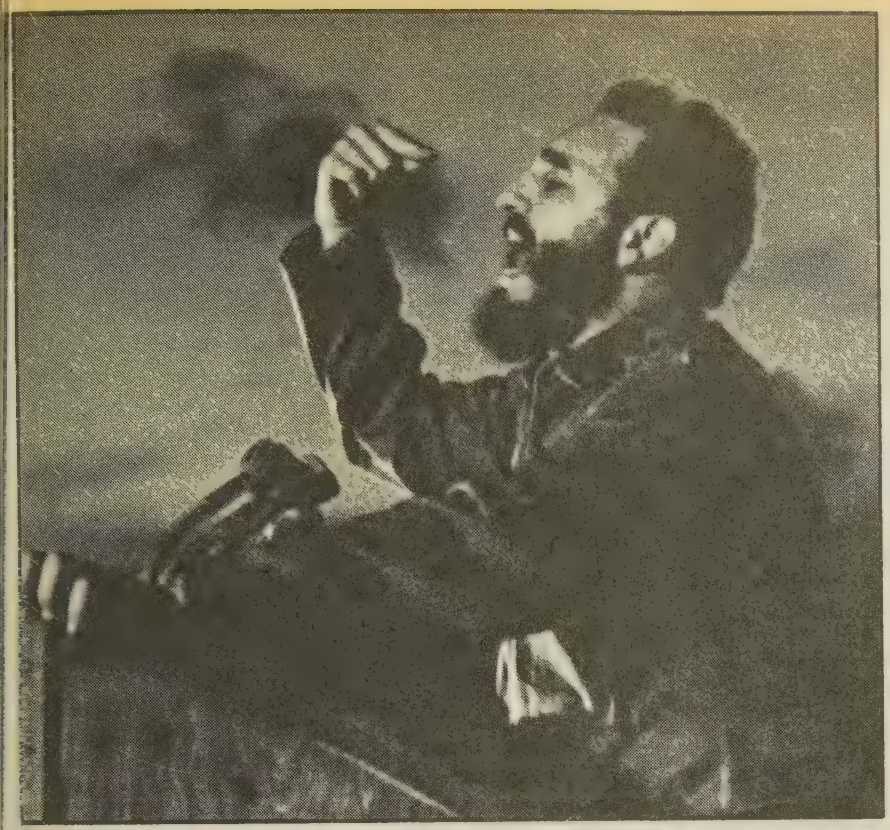
Our struggle has not yet ended. A long, thorny road lies ahead. In this grim fight we look to the Soviet Union for help and support. Together with Afghan soldiers and defenders of the revolution the Soviet armymen are upholding our people's right to freedom and independence. Our people will never forget this help. "Friendship with the Soviet Union," PDPA General Secretary Najib stated, "is not only internationalism in action. It is also patriotism. We shall hand this friendship down from generation to generation."

We shall tell that to the Soviet soldiers who will soon be leaving Afghanistan. We shall see them off and honour them, voicing our heartfelt gratitude for their disinterested assistance in this grim hour of our history.

■

Afghan soldiers are fast friends with the men of the Soviet limited contingent, who are discharging their internationalist duty at the request of the Afghan government.

TASS photo



The Revolutionary

The life of this remarkable man, a revolutionary, has been witnessed by millions of people of the present generations. History itself has brought him to the fore and made him an acknowledged political leader of an international calibre. His personal qualities and his devotion to the cause of the people have earned him the affection and sympathy of Cuba's friends around the world.

It fell upon Fidel Castro to lead the Cubans who carried out the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere. It was a most honourable and responsible mission indeed. One had to have great courage and perspicacity to challenge the system of social, economic and political oppression in a country groaning under the cruel Batista dictatorship.

Fidel Castro decided to start an armed struggle against the dictatorship. He personally selected the first fighters, organized their training and saved up money for the purchase of arms and ammunition. On July 26, 1953, a group of about 200 fighters attacked the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba.

The attack failed and many of the fighters died in battle or in jail. This fact was used by faint-hearted politicians to justify their inactivity. But in those days of sorrow the firm voice of Fidel Castro was heard. He defended himself at the trial of the captured fighters. In his famous speech "History Will Prove Me Right" Castro severely criticized the order existing in Cuba at that time. With the fervour of a freedom fighter and the sound logic of an analyst, he upheld the right of the people to an armed uprising against the oppressors. The speech became a programme for the revolutionary forces of the country.

The events connected with the storming of Moncada brought forth a revolutionary political leader with a coherent programme and a clear idea of how it was to be carried out. Fidel spent 18 months in prison, during which time he pondered on the principles on which a new revolutionary organization was to be built and defined political objectives more precisely.

Released under pressure of public opinion Castro emigrated to Mexico. There he devoted all his thought and energy to organizing an armed expedition for the liberation of Cuba.

He had had to endure many hardships—baiting on the part of cunning politicians, betrayal by pseudo-revolutionaries and blows by police sleuths. The patriots who rallied around Fidel had so little money that his only overcoat had to be pawned to pay for the printing of revolutionary documents.

Fidel and his men felt elated, when their small yacht Granma set out for the shores of Cuba, a highly dangerous journey that would take several days. It turned out to be a terrible ordeal. The overloaded yacht nearly sank, and on several occasions it could have been intercepted by patrol boats of the Batista regime.

Shortly after it landed the group was taken unawares by government troops. Many of the fighters were killed, and others dispersed. Only 12 of the 82 patriots gathered at the rendezvous point in the mountains. They began a revolutionary war against the dictatorship.

As Fidel had predicted, broad masses of the people quickly became involved in this struggle, and the insurgent army grew stronger with every day. Fighting lasted for more than two years. Finally, the combat operations of the "bearded," backed by a general strike, forced Batista to flee the country. The revolution won. The patriots led by Castro began to tackle the complex tasks of consolidating people's government and upholding the sovereignty and independence of Cuba.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have given the republic aid and support in various fields. Cuba has been engaged in the building of a new society for nearly 28 years now. Over this time profound changes have taken place in every sphere of life. The country's economic potential has increased several times over. A genuine cultural revolution has been carried out, and a modern public health service has been set up.

The republic enjoys great prestige in the world. One of the most influential states in the non-aligned movement, Cuba has consistently fought against neocolonialism and racism, defended the rights of the developing nations and called for the establishment of a new, just international economic order.

Even the enemies of the Cuban revolution are compelled to acknowledge Castro's outstanding role in the historic changes that have been carried out in Cuba since the revolution. The friends of the Freedom Island, whose number is constantly growing, rejoice at the successes of the republic.

Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party, Chairman of the State Council and Premier of the republic, celebrated his 60th birthday on August 13. The Soviet people sincerely congratulated him on this occasion and wished him and all Cubans fresh successes in the building of a socialist society, a bright future for their homeland.

N. LEONOV
D. Sc. (Hist.)

Photo by Cuban art photographer Osvaldo Salas

U.S.S.R.—TURKEY

Cooperation to Develop Further

Politics always learns from history. Let us review from this angle the history of the relationship between the Soviet Union and Turkey. Its brightest page is associated with the founders of the two states, Lenin and Ataturk. They are to be credited for having brought about a radical change in the bilateral relationship. That was a time of ordeal for both nations. They had to fight against odds for their independence and to assert their international standing. They achieved their aims and in the process forged relations of good-neighbourliness, mutual confidence and cooperation that were recorded in their treaty of 1921.

The experience gained in those years enabled the two states to surmount more easily the cold-war hurdles in the 1960s and the 1970s and to set about establishing a mutually advantageous relationship formalized in the relevant documents of 1972 and 1978. It is in the Soviet Union's vital interests to have invariably good and peaceful relations with all its neighbours, which, of course, concerns Turkey as well. We are therefore delighted to see that Turkey also wants to develop peaceful cooperation with our country. This mutual desire was reaffirmed at the talks the Soviet leaders had with Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal in Moscow late last month.

As a result of these talks agreements were signed on the further expansion of bilateral cooperation in the economic sphere and in tourism. Opinions on topical international issues, firstly on the prevention of nuclear war and on disarmament, were also exchanged. The Turkish Premier noted the interest shown in his country in the constructive Soviet bids in this field. "Though we are in different military-political alliances," Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov said at a dinner for the distinguished Turkish visitor in the Kremlin, "our two countries must approach with a special feeling of responsibility and prudence the solution of all issues that bear upon their foreign policy interests, especially their security interests." He stressed that the two countries had possibilities for reaching understanding on these matters of principle.

The Turkish Premier's visit to the Soviet Union was a significant event in the bilateral relationship, indicating that the two countries are sparing no efforts to make their common border one of peace and mutual confidence, which would continue to ensure stability in this important part of the world.

Y. BOCHKARYOV

Before the talks began.

Photo by S. Kosyrev

U.S.—NICARAGUA

Great-Power Logic

This was the 12th U.N. Security Council meeting since 1982 held to discuss U.S. interventionist actions against Nicaragua. However, before it took place the International Court met at The Hague late in June to consider Nicaragua's complaint against the United States. The court found U.S. support of armed anti-Nicaraguan groups unlawful and told Washington to compensate the damages thus inflicted. However, before this authoritative international body announced its decision the White House unequivocally declared that it would not recognize it. Following the International Court's decision, the Nicaraguan government granted Washington another month for reflection, after which it appealed to the Security Council.

First to speak at the meeting was Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega who in a calm, well-argumented speech pointed to the dangerous character of the Reagan Administration's policy of state terror. Its purpose, he emphasized, is "to deal the Nicaraguan revolution a mortal blow." More than 31,000 Nicaraguans have already become victims of this dirty war against the republic, while the material damage caused is in excess of $2 billion.

The U.S. must obey the International Court's decision. Otherwise, Daniel Ortega said, the door would be open to further armed escalation and the widening of the conflict in Central America.

The Sandinist government has more than once conclusively demonstrated the peaceful character of its intentions. One of its proposals is to establish in Central America a zone free from foreign military presence. The republic is also prepared to discuss with its Central American neighbours the question of "military ceilings," limits for outfitting armed forces with helicopters and heavy artillery. Managua has also suggested restricting the scale of military exercises. However, these constructive bids come up against a blank wall. Washington rejects them outright, while its allies in the region, notably Honduras, El Salvador and Costa Rica, follow suit, afraid to disobey their senior partner.

At the Security Council meeting President Ortega again extended the olive branch to Washington, declaring that the republic was ready to negotiate problems of normalizing relations with the U.S. However, as was to be expected, Nicaragua's desire for a peaceful settlement in Central America again failed to meet with any positive response from the U.S. The overly impulsive harangue of U.S. ambassador Vernon Walters confirmed that Washington is intent on settling the Central American crisis by force, in the spirit of its neoglobalist ambitions and at the price of capitulation by the Nicaraguan revolution. Walters shed the last vestiges of diplomatic tact when he openly threatened that "Nicaragua will continue to be torn by strife unless and until there is genuine reconciliation" between its govern-

ment and the contras. In Washington's lingo, "strife" means bandit attacks by Somocists and "reconciliation" the abandoning of progressive reforms by the Sandinists.

The U.S. representative bitterly assailed the International Court, though it is the highest international judicial body. He claimed that it had "misperceived" the situation, that it was simply "wrong," and that its conception of the relevant international law was "seriously flawed." The Coordinating Bureau of the non-aligned countries also came under fire when at its meeting in New York it exhorted the U.S. to abide by the International Court's decision. Walters was likewise greatly vexed by the non-aligned states represented on the Security Council as non-permanent members. These five states—Congo, Ghana, Madagascar, Trinidad and Tobago, and the United Arab Emirates—put before the Security Council a draft resolution reaffirming the right of Nicaragua and other Central American countries to live in peace and security, without external interference. It also stressed Nicaragua's inalienable right freely to choose its political, economic and social system.

But that is precisely what Washington denies the people of Nicaragua. And not only Nicaragua. Present-day U.S. policy makers would like to see all nations abide by the rules and instructions drawn up in the Washington corridors of power. Hence the regrettable logic of the U.S. representative in the Security Council, who vetoed the resolution supporting Nicaragua's legitimate demands.

V. CHIRKOV

AFRICA

OAU Pushes for Sanctions

In focus at the 22nd assembly of the heads of state and government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), held in Addis Ababa on July 28-30, was the situation in southern Africa. Since the previous assembly the situation has markedly deteriorated there. Going all out to preserve apartheid, South Africa's racist authorities are systematically killing off activists of the anti-apartheid movement. Pretoria has also become far more aggressive, as is evidenced by its gangster attacks on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, and its undeclared wars over many years to overthrow the legitimate governments of Angola and Mozambique.

Though the movement for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the South African regime has assumed wide proportions over the past year, every attempt to get the U.N. Security Council adopt the appropriate resolutions is invariably obstructed by the U.S. and Britain. Opening the 22nd assembly, Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam called Reagan's outright championship of the South African rulers a manifestation of "the West's dishonest position." The assembly stigmatized the U.S., Britain and the F.R.G. as primarily responsible for no sanctions being applied against Pretoria to this day. It also censured France and Israel for closely cooperating with South Africa in diverse fields, nuclear included.

Reagan and Thatcher have excused their refusal to introduce sanctions by alleging that they will hit hardest at the black workers in South Africa and those frontline states which are economically heavily dependent on Pretoria. However, at a meeting in Harare just before the OAU's 22nd assembly, the representatives of the frontline states declared that they would accept any privations solely to expedite the collapse of the racist regime, which effective economic measures against it could help bring about. In South Africa itself seven of every ten blacks favour sanctions.

The assembly called on African and other countries to take economic measures against Britain, and even rupture diplomatic relations with it. Inasmuch as in Africa today there are some 15 former British colonies that are now members of the Commonwealth, this call may have far-reaching consequences for it. The refusal of many states to participate in the Commonwealth Games has already struck at its unity. Several states warned that unless London takes sanctions against South Africa they will withdraw from the Commonwealth. In the United States, Congress and the public are stepping up pressure on the government. After his July 22 speech provoked such stormy protest, Reagan backed down. He said he was not against sanctions, but he had to coordinate matters with Prime Minister Thatcher. This is just one more ruse to delay decisions, the more so as Thatcher herself has postponed the sanctions issue till the Commonwealth summit in late September.

The OAU assembly protested against U.S. interference in Angola's internal affairs. It said that by providing the UNITA gangs with Stinger missiles, the U.S. had thrown a challenge to all of Africa. Problems of Africa's economic development were also debated, with emphasis laid on the direct link between such economic development, and stronger international security and disarmament.

By virtue of its uncompromising and militant spirit the 22nd assembly actually became a trial of South Africa's racist regime, at which its Western patrons also found themselves in the dock. Independent Africa has declared its adamant resolve to do away with apartheid and liberate Namibia.

L. SKURATOV

ITALY

The Crisis Is Over

Bettino Craxi's new cabinet is nothing but a touched-up replica of the previous one, says the Italian Communist newspaper L'Unita, summing up the month-long government crisis which ended in the return to power of the five-party coalition (Christian Democrats, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats and Liberals).

The only alternative, had inter-party talks broken down, would have been an early general election, the fifth in the last 15 years. However, neither the ruling majority, Italy's capitalists, nor influential allies abroad wanted an early poll. Therefore, the Socialists and Christian Democrats, as chiefly responsible for the government crisis, decided to back down. The Socialists abandoned plans for a radical ministerial reshuffle, promising to yield the premiership next spring. The Christian Democrats accepted this delay aware that for the time being they could not restrict the role and influence of the Socialists and regain their previous dominant position.

Indeed, without the Socialists the Christian Democrats cannot reckon upon a stable parliamentary majority. Therein the reason for the Socialist leaders' truly Olympian calm

as regards the outcome of the crisis. They believe that they hold trumps as represented by the sympathies entertained by businessmen, who are pleased with Reaganomics-type "stabilization," and also by Washington, which is happy with Rome's stand on "star wars" and on certain Middle East and Mediterranean issues.

Sixteen leading Italian firms and companies are already involved in U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space. They have put forward a series of projects for participation in SDI, of which 27 are under consideration by U.S. authorities. According to the newspaper Sicilia, at the start of the government crisis another 32 nuclear cruise missiles were delivered under cover of night and in strict secrecy to the U.S. base near Comiso.

The New York newspaper Journal of Commerce and Commercial qualified the Italian cabinet's policies as the most precious gift to the U.S. Big Business. The Italian government, this influential mouthpiece of U.S. monopolies notes, has engendered such confidence outside the country, while U.S. and other corporations have so heavily invested in Italian company shares that in profitability rates the Milan stock exchange is ahead of all other stock exchanges.

No other solution to the crisis was even considered. For instance, to invite the Communists, who have polled nearly a third of the total vote, to join the government in one way or another. They are still in artificial isolation.

The formation of the new cabinet has not smoothed out the rivalry and differences. The situation remains explosive threatening unpredictable conflicts of interest.

L. MAKAREVICH

U.S.A.

Handsome Is as Handsome Does

In his message to Congress President Reagan informed the legislators that the manufacture of binary weapons would start at the turn of 1988 and 1989. Though he had said—which seemed a piece of common sense—that as a priority in chemical weaponry the U.S. sincerely sought a comprehensive and verifiable complete ban on such weaponry.

As the reader might remember, Congress had for long rejected Pentagon-requested allocations for this latest generation of "silent killers." Eventually a compromise was worked out. It was said that the money would be forthcoming provided the U.S. allies approved the "chemical modernization" programme. The latter did so, grudgingly true, last spring with the disagreeing six of the fifteen members overruled, although binary weapons are to be deployed in Western Europe.

The Pentagon and General Rogers, supreme allied commander of NATO united forces in Europe, have already finalized plans as to how the binary weapons are to be stored and where. According to the Times of London, the NATO military leaders were notified of the details without prior mandatory approval from the ministers who had not even been informed. True, the Pentagon alleges that binary weapons will be stored in the United States and airlifted to Europe exclusively in the event of a "crisis" situation. Which Western specialists say is nonsense, as weapons are always stored wherever there are intentions to use them.

In view of the "delicate" nature of the problem Washington did not raise too much of a fuss once it had wrested agreement from its "key partners"—Bonn and London. May we note that this stance on the part of West Germany and Britain calls into question the pronouncements their leaders have issued of fidelity to disarmament and détente.

As for control, a point the U.S. has artificially inflated, the problem does not exist. Only recently the U.S.S.R. tabled at the Geneva disarmament conference proposals setting out in detail everything needed for control and verification. These proposals are quite capable of jerking out of their state of inertia negotiations for the complete prohibition and abolition of "silent killers." The introduction of binary weapons will make control much more difficult.

Surely it is better to destroy the "cold death" than produce new versions of it.

D. POGORZHELSKY

From Kiev to New York

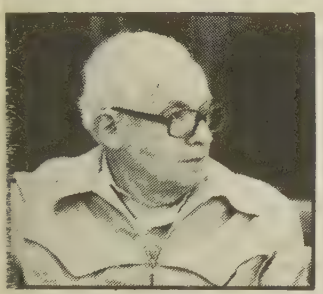
In a ceremony at the U.N. headquarters in New York on July 30, cyclists from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, United States and Canada who had taken part in the Bike for Peace-86 handed to the representative of the U.N. Secretary-General an appeal in Russian, Czech and English, bearing the signatures of the mayors and councillors of many cities. This document, carrying 12-odd million signatures collected in the four

Bike for Peace-86, in which Soviet, Czechoslovak, Canadian and U.S. cyclists took part, ended outside the U.N. headquarters in New York.

TASS photo

INTERVIEWS

A Threat to Nicaragua Is a Threat to the Continent



Jaime Schmirgeld, secretary-coordinator of the Permanent Human Rights Assembly, founded in Argentina over ten years ago, tells our reporter Oleg Valentinov about the anti-war sentiments in his country.

We are very much concerned at the threat of war hanging over Latin America and, naturally, over Argentina, Jaime Schmirgeld said. The U.S. House of Representatives has approved $100 million for aggression against Nicaragua. U.S. interference in Salvadoran affairs is continuing. This is a direct encroachment on the sovereignty of other countries in the continent, because aggression against one of the Latin American peoples may become aggression against the whole of Latin America.

The Argentines remember that the war for the Malvinas (Falkland Islands) was later used by the United States and Britain to build a nuclear base on that archipelago. It has been proved, and many officials have confirmed the fact, that the British ships sunk during the war carried nuclear charges which caused the radioactive contamination of our waters. Britain and the United States evidently had, already then, a plan for turning the Malvinas into a stronghold for nuclear aggression.

Prompted by its neoglobalist strategy, the United States is seeking to gain quick access to any part of the world. The nuclear bases in Europe seem to be no longer enough for Washington. For the realization of its aggressive plans Washington also needed a base on the Malvinas, in the South Atlantic, and it has practically obtained such a base. The Argentines are deeply concerned about this fact for what had earlier seemed to be a threat from far away, from Europe and other places, has now become an immediate threat.

Broad sections of the Argentine public are ever more energetically demanding an end to the arms race, a ban on nuclear tests, prevention of the use of nuclear energy for military purposes, and evacuation of military bases from the Malvinas. This fully accords with the spirit of the Delhi declaration, which was co-sponsored by Argentina. The highly reasonable Soviet proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of this century and possibly earlier have been welcomed in Argentina.

As secretary-coordinator of the Permanent Human Rights Assembly in my country, I want to say that the struggle of people for life is their supreme right, and to express my full support for these Soviet proposals. It is urgently necessary to put an end to the arms race and ensure the security of all nations especially in view of the increasing threat represented by nuclear and other weapons of mass annihilation.

The National Peace Council and the Appeal of 100 in the Name of Life, public organizations in Argentina, are widely collecting signatures against plans for a new war. Other public organizations to fight against the arms race are also being set up. This is fully in keeping with the spirit of the peace initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. It is necessary, however, that these initiatives get worldwide support, that they are carried into effect by governments everywhere. For a new war will spell ruin for the whole of mankind. ■

ountries listed, expresses he fervent desire of people o "end the arms race, keep pace peaceful and enter the 1st century without nuclear veaponry."

The cyclists, who started ut from Kiev on June 22, the 5th anniversary of the beginning of the Great Patriotic War against fascism, covered total distance of 1,400 miles. After cycling through the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia they flew to Montreal, from which point they crossed the U.S. states of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut before finishing up in New York on July 27.

The welcome they received outside the U.N. headquarters presented a most strirring sight. From the improvised rostrum speakers uttered sincere and simple words to describe their desires for peace and deeper international understanding. Together with New Yorkers the cyclists sang American and Russian songs. Democrat Representative Bruce Morrison said that to have peace we must act and that the U.S. must join the Soviet nuclear test moratorium and abide by SALT-2.

U.S.S.R.—LUXEMBURG

"A Very Interesting Trip"

Though small, Luxemburg, situated in the heart of Europe, is a highly industrialized state. For instance, in per capita iron ore and steel output it has long been at the top of the world table. Last year the U.S.S.R. and Luxemburg marked the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between them. This year a highly representative delegation of 150 Luxemburg workers from different branches of the economy came to the Soviet Union. In five groups they visited Tbilisi, Volgograd, Lipetsk, Tashkent and Kemerovo, thereby having full opportunity to talk with many Soviet citizens and find out their daily concerns and plans.

Summing up the results of this trip, sponsored by the All-Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, Jos Kratochwill, general secretary of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, Luxemburg's largest labour federation, said: "We had a very interesting trip which showed us that every Soviet citizen heartily supports the peaceful policy of the government and the CPSU by both word and deed, and that the Soviet people are sparing no effort to implement their impressive plans."

K. ISAKOV

Soviet Civil Aviation

Soviet air transport is taking an active part in fulfilling economic tasks. This is the civil aviation's contribution to the fulfilment of the U.S.S.R.'s plans for economic and social development outlined by the 27th CPSU Congress.

Air travel is the fastest and perhaps this is why air transport which, so to say, helps bring cities and countries closer together, has promoted international cooperation. However, the expanses beyond the clouds which the sun so generously showers with its rays are not as serene as they may appear from the window of a comfortable airliner. There are many reefs and undercurrents interfering with the development of international air communications. Among these is the relentless competition for air freight-passenger markets skilfully camouflaged by deregulation and open sky policies. Still other reefs are air terrorism, and overt opposition to friendship and goodwill flights by the authorities of certain big capitalist states.

BORIS BUGAYEV, Minister of Civil Aviation of the U.S.S.R., kindly granted an interview to a New Times correspondent on the role of civil aviation and the problems involved in the development of air transport.

— In international aviation the term "Aeroflot phenomenon" has been in circulation for some time. What does it mean?

— The Soviet Union has an expansive civil aviation. One passenger out of eight worldwide uses Aeroflot's services. Every year Aeroflot's airliners carry over 110 million passengers. No other single large airline company carries half that number of passengers. But let us turn from transport statistics to other specialities of winged aircraft and helicopters. Is this what you had in mind when you asked about the "Aeroflot phenomenon"? To tell you the truth, I do not quite like the application of word "phenomenon" here.

— Why?

— Because, in my opinion, this word implies an element of chance or sheer luck, so to say, whereas in aviation accurate calculation combined with high professional skill and other personal qualities of flyers, engineers and mechanics are essential.

Why has the phrase "Aeroflot phenomenon" appeared? The point is that Aeroflot is the world's only airline company that, in addition to providing passenger service, directly helps in accomplishing economic tasks.

The range of jobs Soviet civil aviation handles is very wide—from aerial top dressing of winter crops and pastures, extermination of pests in fields, orchards, vineyards and forests, to reconnaissance of shoals of fish, ambulance duty, aerial photography, geological prospecting, construction and assembly operations.

Helicopters are particularly efficient in construction and assembly operations. When the main foundry of the Urals Auto Works was modernized a MI-10K helicopter replaced the obsolete equipment in only an hour. The helicopter removed the worn-out units and hoisted to a 15-metre height the new seven-ton assembled units for installation. Helicopters are extremely helpful in the construction of power transmission lines as well.

Aeroflot crews are rightly regarded as codiscoverers of many oil, gas and other mineral deposits. Geological organizations play a special role among the U.S.S.R. ministries and departments that charter civil aircraft. The latest instruments and methods are used in prospecting for minerals from winged aircraft and helicopters. They have helped quickly and effectively explore many areas of difficult access. It is particularly important that the ecology of these areas has not been damaged.

Working for a wide range of industrial and agricultural sectors, the aviators are guided by the principle that, just like all other equipment, winged aircraft and helicopters must display maximum performance. Unless this principle is observed, real scientific-technological progress or intensification of production are not possible. The 27th CPSU Congress and the June 1986 CPSU Central Committee plenary meeting established this principle as essential.

— Mikhail Gorbachev has just toured the Soviet Far East. Addressing a rally in Vladivostok he said the region should be turned into a highly developed economic complex. In your opinion, what will be the role of civil aviation in the realization of this task?

— We must do our utmost to contribute to the accelerated development of the productive forces of this vast territory. Serious efforts are required to enhance the role of aviation in the solution of the region's vital problems, such as meeting the demand of the population and the economy for transport services, the delivery of fresh vegetables and fruit to remote areas, and the provision of ambulance services.

During the twelfth five-year-plan period (1986-90) airport terminals at Vladivostok, Khabarovsk and Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk will either be modernized or built anew. It is also intended to modernize the air terminals at Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky and Blagoveshchensk. These are concrete steps in the construction of facilities which will enable us to provide a qualitatively higher level of services in this territory.

— In referring to geological prospect-

ing with the help of aircraft you said that they did not adversely affect the ecology of the areas in question. However, it is a fact that civil aviation and nature are not always compatible. Some people have voiced the opinion that far from being increased the number of flights should be decreased. What is your view on the matter?

— Air transport should be developed. But this should be done carefully, without damaging the environment, wild life or human health.

The U.S.S.R. is a member of ICAO—International Civil Aviation Organization—which is a specialized U.N. agency. It also partcipates in the work of many other interstate environmental protection bodies. The Soviet Union meticulously observes universally accepted world standards which govern the operation of air transport and determine aircraft characteristics, such as noise level indicators.

The new Air Code of the U.S.S.R. adopted in 1983 bans the construction of airports, the establishment of air routes in immediate proximity to towns and other highly populated localities and night flights which may be harmful to human health. This ban also applies to landing approaches over residential areas.

When our aircraft are required to administer chemical agents on fields, special care is taken not to harm the environment. Much has been done to safeguard forests, water reservoirs and man against the harmful effect of toxic chemicals used by agricultural aircraft. Special techniques have been devised for all types of jobs. Scientists are working on potent pest and plant disease control agents which would have a neutral effect on the environment.

Another serious problem is the collision of aircraft with birds. According to statistics, close to 4,000 such collisions are registered worldwide every year. The result is the loss of human life and birds, and serious material damage. ICAO has been discussing the bird hazard problem regularly. Soviet scientists and air specialists have been paying considerable attention to this problem as well. All major Soviet airports have ornithologist engineers on their staff.

In many countries birds in the proximity of airfields are being exterminated. In the Soviet Union another approach is preferred. We are searching for ways to control bird behaviour in the danger zones. Several scientific research establishments, including an Aeroflot institute, are working on this problem.

The civil aviation's contribution to the protection of environment is considerable. In particular, I am referring to preventing forest and reindeer pastures from fires.

The aviators are doing many good deeds for nature. For instance, they drop fodder for wild herbivores during severe frosts and heavy snowfall. They observe the behaviour of the glaciers, mountains and rivers to prevent landslides and floods or at least to reduce the harmful consequences of such catastrophes to a minimum.

— Nuclear energy which has gotten out of control is also a sort of elemental calamity hard to subdue. What has Aeroflot done to help alleviate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power plant?

— Without losing a moment, civil aviation hastened to the rescue. The crews of ambulance aircraft rushed those stricken with radiation sickness to Moscow. At present the flyers are sweeping a 30-kilometre zone, including the area directly over the station. Aeroflot winged aircraft and helicopters are decontaminating the ground, conducting riadiation reconnaissance over the Ukraine and taking tests of the atmosphere. They are delivering specialists and freight to the zone of the accident.

— The Soviet civil air fleet is playing a major role in international air communications. You have already cited a few figures. Has Aeroflot taken further steps to cover new geographical regions?

— During the eleventh five-year plan and the first few months of the current twelfth five-year plan the Soviet Union has signed agreements on air service with Malta, Djibouti, the Republic of Maldives, Togo, and São Tomé and Principe and several other countries. Aeroflot has been granted administrative permission to conduct flights to Argentina and the United Arab Emirates. We have been negotiating air communication agreements with Ireland and Uruguay and conducting talks on the extension of Soviet-Chinese cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation.

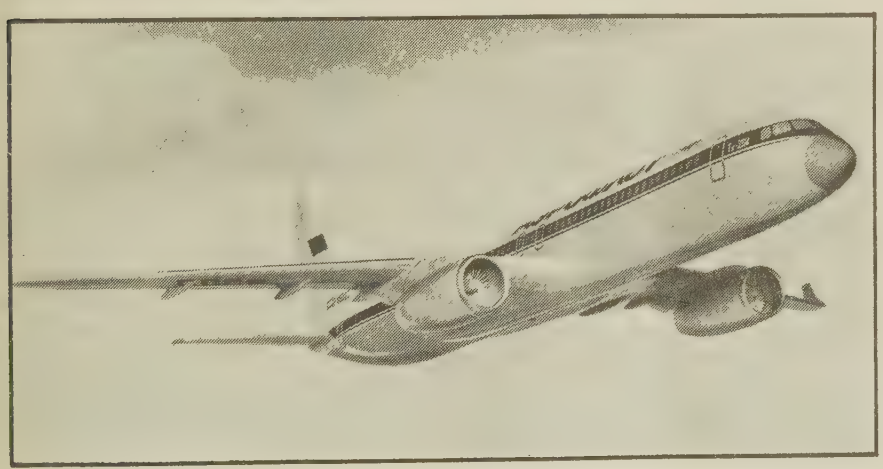
After the Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan meeting in Geneva, Aeroflot and Pan American Airways renewed flights between our two countries as of last April. This has been a concrete step in the advancement of Soviet-U.S. cooperation. Civil aviation ties may be further extended in the name of peace and cooperation if the U.S. displays sincere interest in this undertaking.

Soviet planes perform regular flights to the capitals and major cities of nearly 100 countries. Aeroflot's high prestige is determined by the high reliability of its aircraft and superb training of the crews. And equally important is Aeroflot's desire to cooperate with large and small companies on principles of equality and mutual advantage without impairing the interests of its partners. Our position has stood the test of time, and has been proved sound by cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation within the CMEA framework. And we adhere to our position within the framework of ICAO.

— What are the achievements of the CMEA member countries in the development of civil aviation?

— They are quite impressive. A Centre for the combined training of flight, technical and air traffic control personnel has been set up in Ulyanovsk. International division of labour is being practised in the manufacture, maintenance and repair of aircraft and related equipment. The needs of the airlines of the CMEA member countries for basic technical means have been established. Airports are being built and several international lines are being operated on a joint basis. The CMEA member countries have been promoting cooperation in the development and manufacture of a whole set of automated flight control systems.

The number of passengers which the airlines of the CMEA member countries carry has been increasing at a steady rate of more than four per cent a year since 1975. In this respect, the larger



An artist's impression of the new TU-204 airliner.

Western airline companies lag behind us. Today the airlines of the CMEA member countries provide service on nearly 400 international routes.

CMEA countries are engaged in co-production of aircraft and aircraft elements. For instance, a works in Mielec (Poland) is manufacturing a number of assemblies and parts for our IL-86 aircraft. Another enterprise in Mielec has put into serial production the multi-purpose AN-28 aircraft which will soon replace the earlier AN-2 model. The aircraft engineering industries of Czechoslovakia have created the short-range L-410 aircraft and are now developing the L-610 comfort airliner of a longer range. In turn, the U.S.S.R. has been building medium- and long-range heavy aircraft.

The TU-154 main medium-range aircraft operated by Aeroflot and other airlines of the CMEA member countries will be replaced by the new 214-seater TU-204 airliner relatively soon. During the current twelfth five-year-plan period it is intended to introduce a new 300-seater plane—the IL-96-300—for longer routes.

The U.S.S.R. is developing other planes as well. The coming generation of winged aircraft and helicopters will embody the latest scientific and technological achievements. They will be made out of new materials, including light-weight, high-strength composite materials, which will help decrease their weight. More reliable and advanced on-board systems will further raise the level of automation. They will ensure higher flight efficiency and the aircraft safety.

— Would you, please, give our readers an insight into the fuel problem? Civil aviation is, perhaps, the biggest consumer of oil products worldwide. It is a fact, however, that the petroleum reserves are not inexhaustible. What steps are being taken to cut down the consumption of fuel and lubricants?

— This is indeed a crucial problem and the solution should be all-encompassing.

Aeroflot has enforced strict measures to economize on fuel. Thus, some of the shorter routes which are served by bus lines and/or railroads are being closed down. A lot of fuel is being saved by executing flights at heights characterized by lower fuel consumption. High fuel efficiency—this is a term we use now—will be a distinguishing feature of the new winged aircraft and helicopters. The new powerful motors that will be installed on board will have a higher output, lower fuel consumption and lower weight. A very conservative estimate shows that by 1990 Aeroflot's fuel consumption will be decreased by three to five per cent. However, air traffic will increase.

In addition to reducing the fuel consumption, designers of aircraft engines will have to consider the acute problem of petroleum fuel substitutes. To meet the world's demand for air transportation the scientists will have to work hard on providing adequate fuels. Engine manufacturing companies in some countries have been putting out the more economical air screw-fan engines.

ICAO's efforts in the development of promising equipment will be important here. By combining advanced international experience, ICAO promotes research in aircraft aerodynamics, highly efficient engines and other vital problems.

— Acts of air terrorism have risen unprecedentedly recently. Suffice it to recall the explosion which destroyed one of Air India's Boeing 747 planes over the Atlantic, taking a toll of 329 human lives, and the hijacking of Egypt Air's Boeing 737 and its rerouting to Malta, when 59 lives were lost. Furthermore, there were the explosions at the airports at Frankfort on the Main, Tokyo, Vienna and Rome. What was ICAO's reaction to these outrages? What steps are being taken by its members, the U.S.S.R. in particular, to cope with air pirates?

— Air terrorism is a grave threat to civil aviation. All countries affiliated with ICAO have condemned it. Recently ICAO produced an elaborate plan for fighting air piracy. It provides for the improvement of national air security programmes, the training of personnel, the introduction of more advanced passenger inspection equipment and procedures, and the exchange of information between states on control of unlawful interference in the functioning of civil aviation.

Serious attention is being paid to the legal aspects of the struggle against terrorism. ICAO has supervised the formulation of the Tokyo, Hague and Montreal conventions for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation. They have been ratified by more than one hundred ICAO members.

Many states have concluded bilateral agreements against the hijacking of aircraft. The Soviet Union has signed such agreements with the G.D.R., Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Iran, Finland and several other countries. Soviet law imposes severe punishment for such crimes.

The Soviet Union has submitted a number of proposals for more effective measures against such crimes, including the extradition of the offenders to the country owning the aircraft. A model article on air security has been formulated and adopted on Soviet initiative. ICAO has recommended that this model article be included in bilateral agreements on air communications.

The political report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress contained the important proposal to set up an all-embracing international security system. The system will be based, in part, on effective measures for the prevention of international terrorism, including the safe use of international land, air and sea routes.

— In addition to outright hijacking of civil aircraft, there are other forms of piracy which appear harmless and are presented as promoting the development of air transport. I mean economic piracy. For instance, the U.S.A. has been giving broad publicity to international deregulation and open sky policies. Because many readers may be unfamiliar with these policies, would you kindly explain what these terms actually imply?

— In recent years the U.S.A. has been trying to force upon the international aviation community its air transport policy in two versions, namely deregulation and open sky policies. In the U.S.A. deregulation was officially confirmed by the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978. It provides for the lessening of government control and emphasizes free competition in air transport. The open sky policy was formulated in the 1979 act on competition in international air transport. It actually applies the clauses of the above deregulation act to international airlines.

The purpose of the open sky concept is to promote the commercial activities of U.S. air lines in other countries. At the same time, the 1979 act makes provision for sanctions against countries that refuse to conclude air transport agreements on favourable terms for the U.S.A. It is obvious that if the open sky policy were implemented it would pave the way for uncurbed economic plunder by air monopolies in the international air transport market.

The Third ICAO Air Transport Conference held in Montreal in late 1985 condemned the unilateral measures undertaken by certain capitalist states, because they negatively affected the development of international air transport. The U.S.A.'s attempt to force on other countries its international deregulation and open sky policies was condemned as well, because it impairs the interests of sovereign states and their airline companies. The developing countries rejected these decisions unanimously, while the Soviet Union and other member states of the socialist community supported them.

The U.S.S.R. favours air cooperation on the principles of equality and mutual advantage. We want the air to be a medium of peace and friendship that will bring all the countries and peoples closer together.

Visiting Zhejiang Province

GRIGORY ARSLANOV

A Chinese airline's Boeing-737 with a large group of Peking-accredited foreign newsmen on board took off from Peking airport and an hour and a half later landed in Hangzhou, the administrative centre of Zhejiang Province in eastern China.

This province situated on the shore of the East China Sea is noted for its benign climate. At various times the Chinese referred to it as "a land of fish and rice," "the homeland of silk and tea," "a preserve of cultural relics" and "a paradise for tourists." Although quite small (a mere 101,800 sq. km., which equals 1.06 per cent of China's total area), Zhejiang is among the most densely populated provinces of the country, with a population of nearly 40 million.

Over 70 per cent of the province is mountainous, 10 per cent is covered by rivers and lakes, and arable land constitutes only 20 per cent of its territory, or one twentieth of a hectare per capita. Nevertheless, Li Debao, deputy chairman of the people's government, told us, Zhejiang is among the first four most developed provinces of the country.

The Silk Way Started Here

The province accounts for one quarter of the entire Chinese tea output. The famous Longjing tea ("The Dragon Well") comes from Zhejiang. It was in Zhejiang—now China's second largest producer of silk of the best quality—that the ancient Silk Way began. The Silk Way, described by the Italian traveller Marco Polo, connected Zhejiang with the Mediterranean and with Central Asia. The province meets 50 per cent of the Chinese capital's seafood requirements. On the other hand, the province lacks coal and oil and, consequently, its power industry is less developed. It was probably for this reason that China's first atomic power plant was built precisely in Zhejiang.

The province within its present confines has a long history. Archeologists have found neolithic settlements on its territory. An interesting discovery was made near the small town of Hemudu, Yuyao District. It turned out that over seven thousand years ago rice had been grown there.

Zhejiang was the home of the great Chinese writer Lu Xin (1881-1936). In the town of Shaoxing, where Lu Xin was born, his house and the school where he studied are now museums. Zhejiang is also the home province of Chang Kaishi and his son Jiang Jingguo, the current "president" of Taiwan. Chang Kaishi's house, his mother's grave, Jiang Jingguo's house and the grave of his mother, who was killed in a Japanese bombing raid, have been restored. These memorials attract numerous "huaqiao" (Chinese living abroad), young Chinese tourists and

even high-ranking officials spending their vacations in the area. Li Debao explained that these memorials have been restored to promote the reunification of the homeland, considering "the definitely positive role Chang Kaishi played as a historical personality—before 1927, for example, and during the anti-Japanese war."

Shang Yangmiao, deputy chief of the district in which the Chang Kaishi museum is located, said that the Chinese leadership hopes Jiang Jingguo will consent to a "third cooperation" between the Communist Party of China and Guomindang for the sake of reunifying the country and will thus make a great contribution to the history of China. He expressed the hope that Jiang Jingguo would visit the grave of his mother and his homeland, and that he would enter into negotiations on the reunification of the country.

The earnings of the tourist industry grow every year. In 1985 Zhejiang hosted about 200,000 foreign tourists and 18 million Chinese. The export of silk and textiles accounts for a substantial proportion of the province's earnings in hard currency. Last year alone Hangzhou produced 120 million metres of silk, a quarter of which was exported. The province also exports tea, Chinese medicinal preparations and light industry products. Its exports go to over 100 countries.

By the end of last year 27 joint companies were established with foreign capital amounting to $120 million. The mayor of Hangzhou, Zhong Boxi, said that China is prepared to practise any form of cooperation with foreign companies.

In the sixth five-year period (1981-85) more than 561,000 jobs were provided to young people and as a result the level of unemployment in the cities of the province was reduced from 3.6 per cent in 1980 to 1.5 per cent in 1985. Posters urging a drop in the birth rate can be seen on poles and house walls. It is essential that the "one family one child" principle is strictly observed. The driver of our minibus, a pretty girl of 22, said that by virtue of her profession she couldn't marry before the age of 26 or 27.

To Each According to His Work

As one drives through the cities of China one sees old houses being pulled down to cede to new streets leading to industrial plants, and to cultural and administrative institutions. This is especially true of the small district towns which have gone down in the history of Chinese culture. The small and oft-described backyards, typical of Chinese towns with their brick ovens, sheds, hen coops (and pigsties sometimes) are on their way out.

The Chinese city dwellers started resettling from old houses in the 1950s. This process was halted during the years of the "big leap" and "cultural revolution" and today is gradually resuming. So far, it is only balcony flower pots and bamboo clothes poles that move with the city dwellers from the hutongs (bystreets) to the new houses, which are thus far rather scant. Therefore new streets lined with multi-storeyed houses often resemble the yards of large laundries with washing hung out to dry.

The efforts of individuals, work collectives and the nation as a whole are markedly directed to production. People are no longer brought together to discuss whether a reform is necessary and whether ideological-political work takes precedence over production—or vice versa. There is no time for that. The Chinese are no longer worn out by political campaigns and discussions, as was the case before. Now the yardstick of one's activity and social involvement is honest work and enterprise, rather than the number of quotations one has learned by rote. The principle of "to each according to his work" is coming to predominate, despite the resistance of a certain proportion of the cadres.

In accordance with the new economic policy most factories are state-owned but collectively controlled. The working people are responsible for both profits and losses, the director serving only as their representative. A typical factory's workforce falls into three categories: permanent, contract and temporary. Such a division is used to tie the workers closer to their factory. Depending on his zeal, a temporary worker can be promoted to the contract or permanent status, or the other way around, as the case may be.

Hangzhou pharmaceutical factory No. 2 produces traditional Chinese medicines which contain no chemical components. Its major product is tonics. One of which is qingchunbao. With a 500-year history, qingchunbao is made according to a secret recipe of an emperor of the Ming-Ying Le dynasty, who never succeeded in inventing an elixir of immortality but invented one of "rejuvenation." Most of the factory's output is exported to the U.S.A., Japan and Southeast Asia. "Many foreign businessmen knock at the factory's door and offer their services in setting up joint companies," factory manager Feng Gangshen said.

The manager explained the success of his factory by economic reforms, in particular by a reform in personnel selection. Previously the manager, the chief engineer and shop superintendents were appointed and their "time of office" was unlimited. Now all of them—and the executives as well—are employed on a two-three-year contract. A manager's contract can be renewed every three years, depending on the success of his factory's performance.

Innovators are entitled to special bonuses. Every worker's achievements and drawbacks are recorded by a computer. Depending on his performance, a worker is eligible for a bonus at the end of the month. There is a system of fines as well. For each minute an operative, an engineer or a technician is late for work, he is fined 10 yuans. If he is late a second time, the fine is doubled.

Every blue- or white-collar worker can subscribe to as many as four newspapers and magazines (preferably technical ones) at factory expense. Workers travel to and from work by factory buses, or are issued cut-price municipal transport tickets.

Failure to comply with contract terms costs a worker his job. He may be transferred to another shop, but if no one wants him, the factory management finds him employment elsewhere. In this case, however, he will be paid a mere 65 per cent of the basic wage.

"All are now observing discipline, and no one is late for work," the manager said. "Before the reform, many factory and office workers often idled away the hours doing nothing. This is no longer the case. Everything—the factory's performance and the welfare of its workers—depends on the amount and quality of output. Product quality is inspected by means of modern imported instruments."

The Chinese Exhibition in Moscow

The Soviet people are following with great interest the economic, cultural, scientific and technological progress of China. The relations between the Soviet Union and China have largely improved over the last few years due to the two countries' efforts, and their economic ties are being restored and promoted. The trade and economic exhibition of China, opened in Moscow's Sokolniki

The Mayor's Problems

Judging by the posters prominently displayed at state-run factories, the party bodies concentrate not only on increasing industrial output and improving product quality, but also on combating legal offences, and, in particular, economic offences.

The granting of economic independence to industrial plants (especially collectively-owned ones) resulted in the wide growth of new production units which were initially exempt from taxation. Any attempts made by local authorities to place their activity under control were regarded as "leftist interference with economic recovery." Swindlers, crooks, embezzlers and foreign currency speculators took advantage of the situation. Hard currency machinations, large-scale profiteering, overpricing for personal gain and bribery became widely spread even among the party cadres. Wages and bonuses grew uncontrollably.

The central and local authorities realized it was necessary to improve the reform policy. "We are not saying that our policy is 100 per cent solid," Zhong Boxi, the mayor of Hangzhou, told foreign newsmen. "It needs improvement and development." In his words, the adjustment of the price-formation system brought about a rise in the prices of consumer goods, including food. The mayor said that in 1985 alone consumer goods prices in Hangzhou—located amid the country's most developed agricultural districts—had gone up 17.3 per cent. "That's a bit too much," Zhong Boxi remarked.

He added, however, that each city resident was paid a monthly subsidy of 12 yuans by way of compensation. This means a 16.7 per cent wage and salary rise. Bonuses were increased as well. That was made possible, he said, due to the growth of industrial and agricultural production. According to the mayor, Hangzhou residents' real incomes grew 21.8 per cent in 1985 in comparison with 1984.

Hangzhou is now a major tourist attraction, and thus plans are underway to restore the imperial palaces dating back to the Song dynasty period. Buddhist temples and monasteries are being restored as well. Lake Xihu and its environs have been made a scenic preserve. High-rise construction on the lakeshores has been banned to keep the beauty of the Xihu and of the historical structures around it intact. The city allocates 12 million yuans a year to the restoration of historical monuments (extra allocations are provided by the central government).

Speaking of the problems the city authorities face in pursuing the economic policy, the mayor of Hangzhou pointed out that some of the party cadres still insist on wage-levelling. Today such practice is objectionable, however. The mayor reminded us of the factory bankruptcy bill which, if enacted, would be applied to unprofitable production units. Such units will be either merged with others and their specialization changed, or they will be closed down altogether.

The mayor said that today about 15 factories operate at a loss in Greater Hangzhou, but if the bankruptcy bill became a law the number of the factories falling into this category would increase considerably.

The Rural Industry

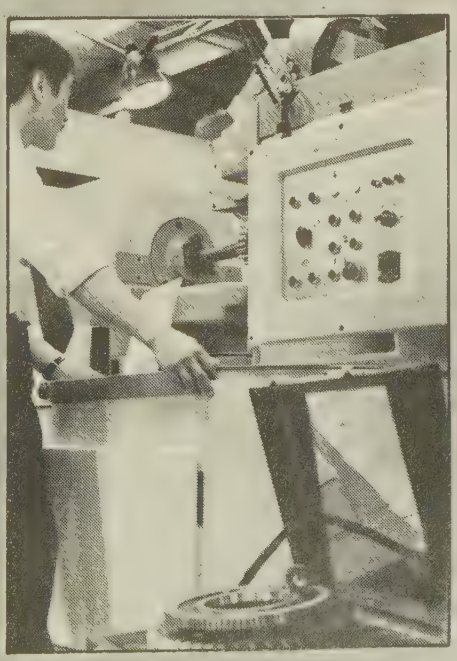
In comparison to years past when the Chinese countryside with its population of about 800 million had only subsidiary workshops by way of industry, today there are a multitude of local factories and plants, even coal and ore mines, small hydroelectric power stations, trucking and other services. Therefore most Chinese country people can be described as "peasant-workers." The bulk of Chinese consumer goods is supplied by agriculture and by the light industry, which depends on agriculture for its raw materials. China's future lies, to no small extent, in the ability of its peasants to adapt themselves to new conditions, to new forms of production and commodity and monetary relations.

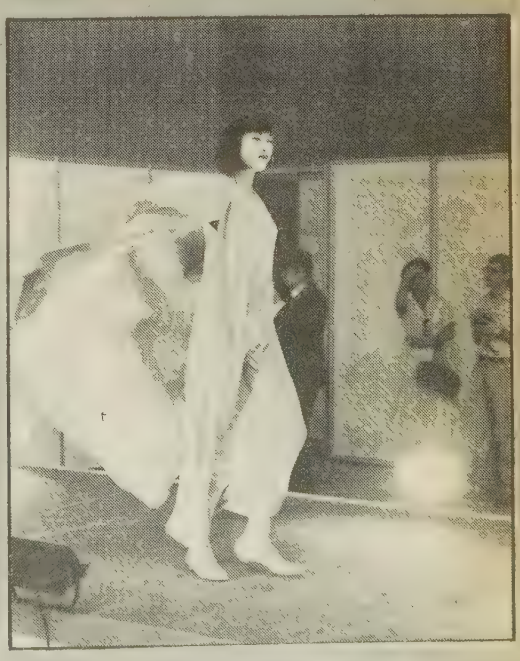
In the last five years the total output of subsidiary enterprises in rural areas doubled as compared with the previous five-year period, and the output of industry as a whole in rural areas tripled. As a result, per capita incomes in the countryside increased 100 per cent. All these changes come from a revision of the agrarian policy. The village communes gave way to individual farmsteads specializing in grain production, in subsidiary and other con-

Park for the first time in some thirty-odd years, is the biggest one in the history of our relations. On display there is almost everything produced in China today: from traditional chinaware to a model of an artificial earth satellite, from famous Chinese tea to the latest electronic equipment. The exhibition gives the visitor a vivid idea of the present-day reality and achievements of China.

On photos: A space television antenna; a programme-controlled gear-cutting machine; a fashion show.

Photos by V. Panov





tract-based businesses. The abolition of the state-imposed grain, oil-bearing seed and cotton delivery quotas has allowed the peasants to decide themselves which crops benefit them most.

Over the last few years the peasants have received greater incentives to work because their earnings now depend on how much they produce, and the principle "share and share alike," regardless of actual performance, is no longer followed. Food production in the country has doubtlessly increased following the introduction of the family contract system in the countryside. Given the appropriate remuneration, machines and implements, Chinese peasants can supply not only all the food China itself with its one-billion population needs, but also produce a considerable amount for export. However, obsolete methods of farming, the predominance of manual labour and a low level of mechanization still remain the most salient features of the Chinese countryside.

Here are some statistics to give the reader an idea of the place the rural industry holds in China's economy: in 1985 the rural industry's output constituted, in terms of cost, 20 per cent of the aggregate industrial and agricultural output and 30 per cent of the country's industrial output.

It is precisely the rural industry that the Chinese economists regard as a means for increasing the country's industrial and agricultural output fourfold by the year 2000. At the same time, the rural industry offers the most rational way of using the enormous workforce available in the countryside.

Wang Fang, secretary of the Party committee of Zhejiang Province, says that rural factories take on members of peasant families who are thus able to augment their farming incomes. The rural factories, which are better off financially, branch out into crop-raising and livestock-breeding themselves. Whereas agriculture previously supplied the means and hands of industry, now the reverse process is beginning to unfold gradually, with factories lending a hand to agriculture—but not on the "free patronage" basis, as was the case before.

Many of the peasants living in the outskirts of big cities take part in producing export items. While being paid less than the workers in Shanghai and other cities, whose factories produce for export, members of peasant family workshops make individual export items under contracts with large city factories, thus helping earn dollars, pounds, marks and yens for the country. In the open port zone of Ningbo, for instance, more than 100,000 peasant homesteads specialize in making all sorts of export products.

Ningbo: Problems and Prospects

Situated on the shore of the East China Sea, Ningbo is one of China's 14 coastal cities "open to the outside world." The population of this ancient city constitutes 4.81 million, 600,000 of whom live within city limits.

Ningbo is a deep-water port: ships drawing up to 120,000 tons can berth alongside its Zhenhai and Beilun wharves.

Upon the completion of thirty wharves on a ten-kilometer stretch of approachable shoreline, the Beilun port of Ningbo will be able to berth vessels drawing up to 200,000 tons. A total of 100 million tons of cargo will be handled in Beilun annually.

Ningbo is gradually becoming a terminal where Brazilian and Australian ore intended for the Baoshan iron and steel works in Shanghai is transferred from large ore-carriers to ships with a displacement of 10,000 tons. The ore is then taken to the wharves catering to the iron and steel works.

From the wharves now being built in Beilun, incoming ore will be transferred not only to Baoshan. An iron and steel plant is to be built in Nangbo itself, the output capacity of its first phase rated at three million tons of steel a year. The plant will be built with the technical and financial cooperation of British companies to be rendered through the mediation of Bao Yugang, a Hongkong multi-millionaire hailing from Ningbo and one of the world's largest private shipowners. Bao Yugang had a university building erected at his expense, and his brothers and sisters presented the city with a vocational school and an incomplete secondary school. Bao Yugang also financed the construction of a road to connect Ningbo with his home village. Deputy mayor Chen Zhiliang told us that the iron and steel plant to be built at Bao Yugang's personal suggestion would cost $3.2 billion.

Two heat and power plants, an airport, hotels and an automatic telephone network are now being built in the city at an accelerated rate. Ground has been allotted in several places for the construction of joint companies with a part of the stock owned by foreign capitalists.

In pursuance of its plans to make Ningbo one of the largest open ports on the East China Sea coast and equal to Shanghai in importance, the central government has allotted two billion yuans for the construction of port facilities, a heat and power plant and an oil refinery. The Beilun wharves are fitted out with the latest Japanese-made automatic cargo handling equipment. Nevertheless, the port does not yet operate at full capacity. The city authorities pin special hopes on the "experience, money and skill" of huaqiao—Ningbo-born Chinese living in various countries and known as the "Ningbo clan."

Ningbo is in acute need of more housing, new transport arteries and broad thoroughfares. Most of its houses are centuries old. There are many historical monuments in the city. For instance, it boasts China's oldest library built during the reign of the Ming dynasty.

* * *

This in general is how the economic mechanism of one of China's most developed provinces operates. One may call it a microcosm of China, with its climate of economic revival and ever closer coordination of industrial and economic activities on a provincial and national scale.

An ever stronger emphasis is placed on the need to expand trade and economic cooperation (barter trade, in particular) with socialist countries and in particular with the Soviet Union. This cooperation allows China to import modern industrial equipment from these countries without any hard currency expense. This was pointed out to me repeatedly by executives at various levels in Zhejiang Province.

There are ever more indications of the broadening trade, economic and cultural cooperation between China and the U.S.S.R. On the roads and city streets of Zhejiang we saw not only Soviet trucks of the 1950s, but also Volga GAZ-24, Lada 2105 and ZIL cars. A Soviet airliner took us from Hangzhou to Peking. "Our Soviet-made TU-154 plane is now flying at an altitude of..." the passengers were informed over the public address system.

During our stay in Zhejiang Province, a videotaped concert of the Byelorussian Academic Choir was televised locally, two nights at a row. The choir made a successful tour of several Chinese cities, including Peking. The telecasts were watched by residents of not only the continental part of the province, but also of the Zhoushan islands. The Soviet feature films "Moscow Doesn't Believe in Tears" and "At Dawn It's Quiet Here" were shown on closed-circuit television at big hotels which are Chinese-foreign property. Chinese translations of works by Alexander Pushkin, Mikhail Lermontov, Leo Tolstoi, Alexei Gorky, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Alexander Fadeyev and other Russian and Soviet writers are found in the bookstores of even small towns far away from Peking. These books have appeared on the market over the last five to six years. Soviet authors by far predominate over Western authors on the Chinese book market.

Hangzhou—Ningbo—
Peking

THE FRONTIER

From Our Special Correspondent
NIKITA ZHOLKVER

A quarter of a century ago, on the night of August 12, 1961, having agreed upon the matter with its allies, the G.D.R. government undertook to strengthen Berlin's security, and normal frontier control was introduced on the border between the G.D.R. capital and West Berlin. Little by little the passions originally evoked by this action died down and the G.D.R.'s sovereign rights had to be reckoned with.

Nevertheless, the Western propaganda machine and officials in Bonn and West Berlin repeatedly demand that the Berlin wall be demolished. They assail the G.D.R. government, crudely distorting the relevant evidence.

1986. July

The Berlin S-Bahn (municipal railway) station in Friedrichstrasse is a major transfer for passengers to West Berlin. I left my coach and went down to the checkpoint. There the border guard, having examined the papers presented by the passengers, gave them a courteous salute.

I ascended once again, to reach the next platform beyond the grey partition. In fact, I had crossed the frontier, where, in Friedrichstrasse, three lines, two of West Berlin's S-Bahn, and one of the metro, intersect.

A train drew up. It took but a couple of minutes to travel to the next station. On my left there rose the vast Reichstag. The train approached the bridge spanning the Spree, crossed the first inner wall, then the frontier strip with its towers, and eventually the outer rampart. The frontier now lay behind. However, this is more than a simple line of demarcation between the G.D.R. capital and West Berlin.

This frontier lies between two worlds with two opposed ideologies and world outlooks, between human mentalities and habits, and ways of life. This is what essentially divides the populations of the G.D.R. capital and West Berlin, and not the wall, about which so many fabrications have been invented in the West.

So why was it really necessary? Who is really responsible for Berlin's division? To get to the root of the matter, we must go back not 25, but 41 years.

1945-1949

In July 1945 the troops of our Allies entered Berlin and, in line with the earlier reached accords, occupied the city's western sectors. However, in accordance with the quadripartite status, Berlin as one integral unit remained within the Soviet occupation zone, with supreme authority vested in the person of the Soviet commander-in-chief.

At the outset Berlin's Allied Kommandatura, composed of representatives of the four victor powers and instituted immediately after the end of the war, operated in full accordance with the Potsdam decisions. Unfortunately, cooperation lasted only a few weeks and was followed by Western powers' attempts to torpedo the accords and to set the city on an anti-democratic road of development. Former nazis were promoted to key posts. The old owners once again became the directors of major firms.

On March 12, 1947, came the Truman Doctrine and on June 5 the Marshall Plan, both parts of the U.S. strategy to roll back communism. Germany and Berlin were transformed into the central theatre of the cold war. The Western powers wilfully sought to split Germany, to set up a separate Bonn state and incorporate this new formation within its military alliances. This policy was fully reflected in Berlin.

With malicious glee the New York Herald Tribune declared that Yalta was old history and that Germany's division would leave the Western powers with a free hand to include West Germany in its system.

In March 1948 Berlin's quadripartite administration was, to all practical intents, terminated. On June 18, a separate currency reform was effected in the western occupation zones of Germany and on June 23 this reform was extended to include the western sectors of Berlin. On December 5, 1948, separate elections were held in the western sectors to thus seal the city's division.

Finally, on December 21, with no legal foundation whatever (although they had formally recognized Berlin as part of the Soviet occupation zone) U.S., British, and French representatives established for Berlin's western sectors a separate tripartite Kommandatura. West Berlin's municipal economy was isolated. Later, gas, water and electricity supplies were separated and tram traffic discontinued.

On September 7, 1949, the Western policy of splitting Germany climaxed in the establishment of a separate Bonn state.

1950-1960

The border between the two parts of Berlin remained invisible, as the network of metro and S-Bahn lines apparently united what really no longer existed. For twelve years the border with West Berlin remained open. It was enough to cross a street, square or bridge, or to travel just one station on the S-Bahn, to reach another world, another social system. Day after day hundreds of thousands of people went in and out, virtually without any checking or hindrances. Speculators, thieves, spies, imperialist secret service agents, criminals and recruiters crossed this conventional line with facile ease.

West Berlin's first burgomaster, Ernst Reuter, did not attempt to conceal his

The U.S. electronic espionage centre in West Berlin.

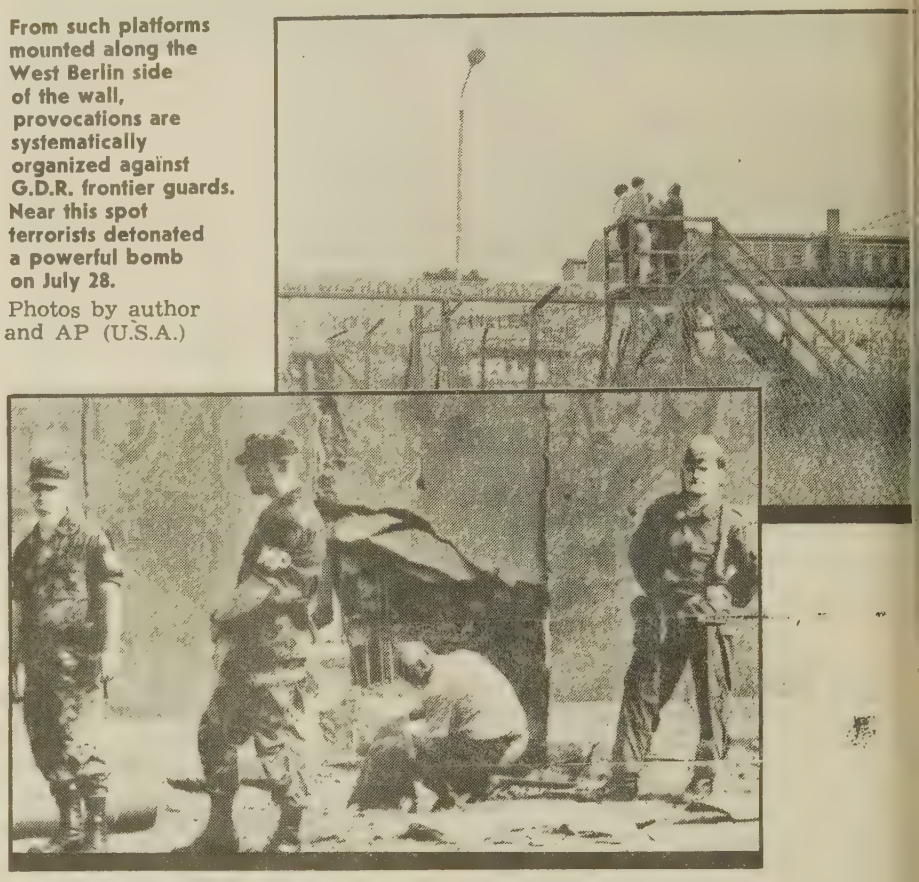
designs. In 1951 he most meaningfully expounded the substance of the Senate's policy calling West Berlin "a splinter in the body of the G.D.R." James Bryant Conant, the U.S. High Commissioner for the F.R.G., took a broader view, qualifying West Berlin as a spearhead stuck in the very heart of the German Democratic Republic.

1986. July

The avenue of Unter den Linden ends at a low iron fence. There is no further entrance, as ahead, right up to the Brandenburg Gate, lies the frontier strip. Further, some 20 metres away, the British sector of West Berlin begins. Only from this point, from behind the railings, may one admire the superb classical gem that Carl Gotthard Langhans erected at the close of the 18th century. However, an exception was made in my case. Lt.-Col. Hartmut Beyer of the border guards corps escorted me up to the left wing of the gate, where a small information point had been set up in 1958.

"West Berlin," Hartmut Beyer related, "is possibly a major centre of subversive activity against the socialist countries. Stationed here in an area of only 480 sq. km. are the armed forces of the three Western powers; besides it is a seat of 80-odd diverse organizations engaged in espionage and sabotage. Take this, for instance," and he indicated a photograph. "It resembles an Oriental minaret, but actually located here on Teufelsberg (Devil's Mountain), the highest point in West Berlin, is a U.S. centre for electronic snooping. Its antennas eavesdrop to some 500 km. deep into the Warsaw Treaty countries. You can't imagine how much paraphernalia for spying, or how many mini-transmitters have been confiscated on the border, how many transgressions and violations are recorded every year! Last year alone there were 3,400. They throw stones and incendiary bottles, and open fire at our guards on the towers. One was wounded on the night of January 15, 1986. Repeated attempts have been made to demolish our border fences."

On July 28 I left Berlin by air. On my way to the airport, the driver switched on his wireless. The morning newscast began with the report of a powerful explosion that had occurred a little past two o'clock in the morning in the West Berlin borough of Kreuzberg, in the U.S. sector, not far from the frontier checkpoint for diplomats. Some unidentified persons had set up the bomb against the wall. Exploding, it created a jagged hole of about a square metre. The blast shattered windows in houses nearby. Though West Berlin and U.S. military police arrived immediately at the scene, the criminals had already vanished. The West Berlin Senate rejected claims made by the G.D.R. authorities and readdressed them to the U.S. military administration. The newscaster noted that even if the criminals were caught, which was highly unlikely, they would only pay for the shattered windows, not for the damage inflicted upon the G.D.R. frontier defences. Their extradition was completely out of the question. But back to my chat with Hartmut Beyer.



From such platforms mounted along the West Berlin side of the wall, provocations are systematically organized against G.D.R. frontier guards. Near this spot terrorists detonated a powerful bomb on July 28.

Photos by author and AP (U.S.A.)

"Let me show you what the wall looks like from the outside," Beyer suggested.

Passing through the columns of the Brandenburg Gate, we came out on the other side and ascended a platform, about only seven metres from the outer wall which at this point protrudes into West Berlin in a small semicircle. Thus, one is able to observe the other side of the main concrete ramparts. As far as the eye could see, this was one entire "work of art."

"Incidentally, every West Berliner who comes right up to the wall," Beyer explained, "intrudes into G.D.R. state territory, as the wall was built slightly back of the actual boundary line. However, these are the more innocuous violations. Since 1961 military provocations have been staged constantly, with tanks rolling out into the square in front of the Brandenburg Gate and aiming their cannons at our TV tower and city hall."

1950-1960. Continued

By the mid-1950s West Berlin had 90-odd imperialist centres for espionage and sabotage, including Europe's largest CIA branch which to this day occupies two houses at 170 and 172 Clayallee. Branches of the F.R.G. intelligence service and of the revanchist ministry for all-German matters are also located here. The "Ostbüro" of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Christian Democratic Union were set up, as well as the "investigative committee of free lawyers" and the "anti-inhumanity group." These high-sounding titles fronted for organizations whose sole purpose was to subvert the G.D.R.'s existing social system, for which they did not stop short of terror, sabotage, arson, abduction, and murder.

When the F.R.G. joined NATO, and Bonn began to rapidly flex its military muscle, the final stamp was placed on Germany's division.

1961

Reaction allotted to West Berlin the role of a second Sarajevo and more and more insistently struck matches by the side of the powder keg. Provocations against the G.D.R. increased and the Outline Plan was evolved for the

isolation and seizure of the G.D.R. by the Bundeswehr.

As the year began, the traffic in people reached unprecedented proportions. Tens of thousands of G.D.R. citizens were lured into West Berlin by lavish promises. Highly qualified specialists were made tempting offers. Others were victimized by blackmail and intimidation, while young people were hooked by publicity and propaganda. The frontier walkers, people who lived under socialism but hired themselves out to the capitalists, inflicted grievous damage on the G.D.R. economy, exploiting the advantageous currency exchange rates. In a manner of speaking they sponged on the G.D.R. population, enjoying all the gains of worker-peasant power, while giving nothing in exchange. The official figures cited the number of such persons running as high as 63,000. The 4,300 frontier walkers netted annually 18.4 million marks to the West Berlin's Siemens concern alone. At the time U.S. Senator James William Fulbright justly said he did not understand why the G.D.R. did not close its border with West Berlin, considering it was fully entitled to do so.

In the summer of 1961 the Berlin crisis inflamed the situation in the international arena. The revanchists in the F.R.G. and in West Berlin banged the drum ever more intensely. On June 14, the Bundestag adopted a resolution calling for the revision of Europe's existing frontiers. On July 7 the ruling CDU/CSU bloc announced its goal of "liberating" the G.D.R. and of forming a united Germany integrated into NATO. On July 25, while on a visit to the U.S., Franz Josef Strauss, the then F.R.G. Minister of Defence, said that the second world war had still not ended and that the West should be prepared for "a kind of civil war." On August 1, on his insistence, NATO troops were put on full alert. Some 20,000 reserve forces were called up to raise Bundeswehr strength to more than 350,000. A series of exercises were initiated to simulate different versions of anti-G.D.R. aggression. Early in the month an additional five U.S. crack divisions were readied for an airlift to Europe and measures were taken to increase French and British troop strength.

Plans were made to engineer an armed clash in Berlin, and acts of sabotage increased. On August 7 saboteurs tried to set fire to the slaughterhouse to hinder meat supplies and provoke discontent among the masses. On August 11 the Humboldt University building was dynamited.

On August 12 the G.D.R. government resolved to strengthen the frontier in Berlin.

Three years later the Hamburg Stern commented: "It becomes increasingly clear that the day [August 13, 1961.— **N. Z.**] was an epoch-making signpost in German history, every bit as significant as November 11, 1918, or May 8, 1945. That day signified the third collapse—thank God a bloodless one this time—of that German policy which sought to better Germany's position by pressure, coercion, cold war and, if necessary, eventually by a shooting war."

1986. July

The West Berlin newspaper Volksblatt is closely associated with Social Democratic circles, who are far from always consistent. Though small, with a daily circulation of some 30,000 copies, it is a quite influential paper.

I was introduced to Manfred Volkmar, the paper's deputy editor, at the door of its editorial offices in the West Berlin borough of Spandau. We walked together to his modest office.

"What role, Herr Volkmar, do the G.D.R. government steps to strengthen the Berlin frontier play?"

"Objectively, I must admit," Manfred Volkmar said, "that at the time the wall served to stabilize the situation. By then the situation was extremely tense. The strengthening of the frontier helped to ease it off both in Berlin and in Europe. However, that was not understood at the time. The wall was seen only as symbolizing the city's partitioning and for many that was painful. It is in the interests of West Berliners to see this frontier as a historical reality, to recognize it. Yet, we must try to make the wall more passable, to ease crossing, visits, and to enhance two-way movement. Many of our citizens have relatives and friends in the G.D.R. with whom they would like to maintain close contact. However, in any event, one should not question the existence of the Berlin wall. Only a madman can hope that this border might be abolished any time soon or in the foreseeable future."

Sunday, August 13, 1961

At 1 a.m. the workers' militia of Berlin and at 1.30 a.m. those of Potsdam and Frankfort on the Oder were alerted. With the frontier police they encircled West Berlin's entire outer perimeter. At daybreak, a motorized rifle division and armoured units of the G.D.R. National People's Army entered the city. The entire operation was completed in only a few hours. Metro and S-Bahn traffic between West Berlin and democratic Berlin was stopped. By morning engineers were already erecting frontier fences. This was particularly difficult within the city itself, where the frontier extended for 46 km down streets and across gardens.

The G.D.R. government moves infuriated the ruling circles of the F.R.G. and West Berlin. These few hours completely shattered their dreams, their hopes of seeing the Bundeswehr marching into the G.D.R. through the Brandenburg Gate to the strains of martial music.

It was mostly those people who had lost out heavily on currency speculation who did their best to stir up discontent amongst West Berliners over the measures the G.D.R. authorities had implemented along the border. In the autumn of 1961 it was estimated in the G.D.R. that over the twelve years of the open border its economy had incurred losses of nearly 30 billion marks. This is an extremely conservative estimate, as the F.R.G. and West Berlin actually owed some 120 billion marks for the consequences of their economic warfare against the G.D.R., a sum roughly equivalent to the total investment in the G.D.R.'s economy from 1950 to 1961. Dr Baade, an economics professor from Kiel, observed with good reason that "to a definite extent our well-being is the product of discrimination against the G.D.R."

In powerless rage West Berlin provocateurs engineered disorders outside S-Bahn railway stations under G.D.R. control. The U.S. General Clay, after whom a street in West Berlin has been named, backed this campaign of provocation with his own personal means. On October 25 he ordered Patton tanks to advance to Charly checkpoint in Friedrichstrasse which aimed their guns at the Volkspolizei. GIs took up positions behind sandbags and installed machine guns in windows. Engines roared and, with caterpillar tracks clanking, the tanks gathered speed and advanced at the G.D.R. broder guards, their brakes squealing to a halt only at the white line dividing the two parts of the city. This manoeuvre was repeated several times. The border guards standing in the street on this side of the white line stood firm. Soviet tanks rolled out to support them and took up positions to oppose the U.S. tanks. The confrontation in Friedrichstrasse continued for 16 hours. The world held its breath. Eventually, Clay's tanks backed out.

These hours clearly showed that defensive ramparts in Berlin were absolutely essential. Slabs of concrete and barriers were set in place along the border. A 16-km long wall with an average height of 2.5 metres was then constructed.

1986. July

Back to what Herr Volkmar said. Let me remind you that he considers the

desires of West Berliners to make the frontier more passable quite logical. So what is the situation today? What are the specific features of the border service? How does the frontier regime operate? And what role does the Berlin wall play on the international level? While in Berlin, I put these questions to Maj.-Gen. Erich Wöllner, the commanding officer of the G.D.R. central frontier area.

"On the border with West Berlin," he said, "we have 25 checkpoints, some for pedestrians, others for motorists, and still others for railway and river transport. All have checking systems customary for most frontiers in the world. To visit the G.D.R., a citizen of West Berlin must have a visa, just like all foreigners. With this visa he or she may enter our territory without hindrances. Of course, not everyone receives a visa. Outright enemies are not let in. An average 70,000-80,000 cross daily."

N. B. According to statistics of the West Berlin Senate, from June 1, 1985, through May 31, 1986, some 2.1 million visitors from West Berlin travelled to the G.D.R. Visas were denied in only 0.004 per cent of all cases. Nearly 24 million visitors from West Berlin and the F.R.G. were allowed to cross the G.D.R. into the F.R.G., and vice versa. During this period only 160 persons were expelled from the G.D.R. for violation of transit agreements.

"There are of course violations," Wöllner continued. "They include the illegal carriage of sundry anti-communist printed rubbish, from the completely trivial to politicalized pornography. We have discovered precious metals in tubes of toothpaste, heroin in wallnut shells, and in the trunks of cars works of art worth millions of marks or criminals trying to hide in the West to flee punishment in the G.D.R. Whole gangs have been organized in West Berlin to smuggle out our citizens.

"As for the specific features of our frontier service, the frontier intersects the city and the strip is at times only 6-8 metres wide. Here the border guard is always visible, while usually he remains concealed. He has to demonstrate exceptional fortitude and be excellently trained. No doubt, you have noticed the platforms along the wall on the West Berlin side?"

...There is indeed such a platform directly opposite the Brandenburg Gate. When I was talking to Beyer, some 20 people had crowded up onto it, shouting and brandishing their fists.

"From these platforms," Maj.-Gen. Wöllner went on, "stones are thrown at our border guards, they are fired upon, urged to defect, and everything is done to distract them, with even naked girls dancing before them.

"The anti-fascist rampart in Berlin," he concluded, "undoubtedly played a stabilizing role and hindered imperialist designs to unleash a new war. As a matter of fact, our frontier continues to play this role, along with guaranteeing our citizens peaceful labour, serenity and security."

* * *

That day I returned late at night to my hotel in the G.D.R. capital from my latest interview in West Berlin. The railway station in Friedrichstrasse presented the usual lively scene. Despite the large flow of people, the border guard remembered me, a newsman from Moscow who crosses in and out several times a day, and he cheerfully waved his hand to me. Here is the frontier. It is called the Berlin wall. It has blocked the way to reaction and war. It is between two worlds. But it has not separated them by its concrete mass. The frontier also serves as a means for normal contact between the people of the two worlds. It is always open to all those who enter with kind intentions.

Berlin-West Berlin-Moscow

APPOINTMENTS

Dmitry Ivanovich KACHIN

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Vietnam

Dmitry Kachin, a Russian, was born on November 7, 1929, in the village of Bolshaya Rechka, Kabansk District, in the Buryat Autonomous Soviet Republic. He graduated from the Moscow Technical Institute of the Fishing Industry and Economy in 1954 and from the CPSU Central Committee Higher Party School in 1961. He has been a CPSU member since 1953.

At the 24th CPSU Congress he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission; at its 25th Congress, an Alternate Member of the Central Committee, and at the 26th and 27th congresses, a full member of the Central Committee. He is a deputy to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

Dmitry Kachin started his working career in 1945 as an ordinary seaman aboard fishing vessels of the Baikal State Fishing Trust. Subsequently he was promoted to trawling master, engineer, and division chief of the Administration of the Trawler and Refrigerator Fleet of the Kamchatka Fishing Industry.

He has been a Party official since 1961. He was elected Secretary of the Party Committee of the Administration of the Trawler and Refrigerator Fleet, Second Secretary and then First Secretary of the Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky City Party Committee, and Secretary of the Kamchatka Regional CPSU Committee. Between 1969 and 1971 he was Chairman of the Kamchatka Regional Executive Committee, and from 1971 to this year, First Secretary of the Kamchatka Regional CPSU Committee.

Dmitry Kachin has been decorated with the orders of Lenin and the October Revolution, as well as with two orders of the Red Banner of Labour and several medals.

Vladimir Nikolayevich KUZNETSOV

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Principe

Vladimir Kuznetsov, a Russian, was born in Moscow on October 22, 1934. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1958 and from the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry's (MFA) Diplomatic Academy in 1976. He has been a CPSU member since 1963.

After graduation from the Moscow Institute of International Relations Vladimir Kuznetsov was appointed secretary-archivist of the Consular Department of the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Iraq. Between 1961 and 1964 he served as an Attaché and subsequently Third Secretary of the MFA's Second African Department. From 1964 to 1970 he was Second and then First Secretary in the Secretariat of a Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister. In 1970-71 he was First Secretary of the MFA's Second European Department. Subsequently, till 1974, he was First Secretary at the U.S.S.R. Embassy in the Netherlands. From 1974 to 1976 he studied at the MFA Diplomatic Academy. From 1976 to 1981 he was First Secretary and Counsellor at the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Belgium. In 1981-83 he was the U.S.S.R. Consul-General in Antwerp. From 1983 he has been an expert adviser to the MFA's First European Department.

Vladimir Kuznetsov has been decorated with several government awards.

Robots at Work

The Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progess of the CMEA Member States for the Period up to the Year 2000 provides for the development of a flexible production and computer-aided design systems and the extensive use of robots. Here is a report by our special correspondent on how the People's Republic of Bulgaria is working towards these objectives.

Stara Zagora is one of Bulgaria's oldest cities thought to be founded by Philip of Macedon more than 2,000 years ago, before the Roman conquest of the Balkans. It changed names many times—under the Romans, Byzantines and, later, the Turks. Burnt down in the years of the liberation struggle against the Osman oppression, the city was subsequently rebuilt to the design of a Russian architect.

One of Stara Zagora's streets stretches along a railway track and leads to the Beroea Robotics Research and Development Plant (Beroea is the city's ancient name). It was built in 1946 as a factory specializing in watch repair and toy making. It had nothing to do with robotics then, of course. In the mid-fifties the factory was retooled to produce metal-cutting lathe components. And in 1977 the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted a National Programme for the promotion of robot manufacturing and utilization. The Beroea plant's first 19 robots went to the KamAZ motor vehicle plant of the U.S.S.R.

Today the Beroea plant differs as much from the toy factory it used to be in the forties as modern Stara Zagora does from the ancient Roman settlement from which it had grown—except geographically, of course.

Beroea is divided into two sections—research and production. It does not only make robots for the mechanical engineering industry but also tests robot-based flexible production systems (FPS).

Sybi Khristozov Slavov, chairman of the trade union committee, first showed me around the assembly shop where two workers were busy adjusting a microprocessor-controlled robot lathe attendant. The robot can move objects from place to place, arrange them according to size, put them in certain positions, etc.

Another block houses the pride of Beroea—a robot manufacturing plant based on a flexible production system. My guide led me to a wall-sized window which afforded a full view of the plant from above. I saw an enormous factory shop with rows of machinery, its back wall resembling a honeycomb (that was an automated depot, my guide explained). A robot-operated truck rolled up to the depot and came to a stop, and then its transmanipulator—a device for taking items out of or putting them into strictly specified "combs"—stirred into motion. The robot detected the required component in seconds, pulled it out and lowered it onto the truck platform. The truck took the component to a machine tool and placed it on an oval-shaped conveyer belt section. A door opened and the belt moved the component inside the door. A shaft of sparks showed through the transparent machine-tool wall: the component was being cut into shape. Later another robot truck is to pick up the component and transfer it to the next machine tool, and so on until it passes through all the successive machining stages and returns to the depot as a finished product.

The machine room can be described as the hands of the plant, and the master computer room, which is partitioned off by a wall as its brain. All the systems of the plant are operated from its control panels. Machine tools can be promptly readjusted to other component configurations by a change in software. Engineers at Beroea draw up day-to-day production schedules at the beginning of every month. The schedule is fed into the master computer which sets all the machine tools, robot trucks and the depot into automatic operation. The machine room is manned by only three or four attendants who supervise the fulfilment of the pre-set programmes.

The FPS offer indisputable advantages. According to the U.S. National Science Foundation, they have a higher efficiency-boosting potential than any other invention since the advent of electricity. This may be an overstatement but, be that as it may, the FPS have enabled Beroea to increase productivity sixfold.

Indeed, the advantages are obvious. But four years ago, when Beroea got its first FPS, there were still many points to clear up. Bulgaria had decided then to buy an automated turnkey robot manufacturing plant from a Western company. The company did not let the Bulgarians down: it mounted the plant and adjusted it in eight months. Its FPS was intended for manufacturing 60 different components. But this made the Bulgarian users technologically dependent on the Western supplier for spares and maintenance. A solution to this problem was soon found. The Robotics Research Institute came up with ideas—dozens of them—which the Beroea plant's engineers experimented with. In three years' time, the share of standard equipment imported from the West was reduced to 2-3 per cent of the total, in terms of cost. Besides, what the plant imports is not of vital importance. The automated plant purchased from the West is not merely used—it is being constantly improved. Today Beroea produces 600 items instead of the initial 60. In Stara Zagora Bulgarians are now building automated plants of their own, one of which went into operation recently.

The big investments made in 1982 were justified within less than three years.

"The experience accumulated by the Beroea plant is extremely useful," Ivan Iliyev, Deputy Chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, Chairman of the State Planning Committee, told me. "Now we know that it pays to buy technology—and then to develop it on our own. But to do this you must have a research capability equal to the most complicated tasks. We have built up such a capability over the past few years on the whole. In the last five-year period (1981-85) the Bulgarian mechanical engineering industry produced 2,062 robots, 843 of them for our own industry and 1,219 for export (to the U.S.S.R., mostly). We do not make robots for robots' sake, of course. Beroea and some other plants manufacture them (under contracts with various factories) as part of flexible production systems or robotic complexes. The manufacturer undertakes to do all the maintenance work required. Robotic complexes and flexible production systems, which are coming to replace conventional machinery are cost- and space-saving and raise production efficiency considerably. And should their installation cost a factory too much, for some reason or other, the state steps in and pays the bill."

Now that robots are widely used in the industrialized world, many of the hitherto obscure aspects of robotics have become clear. We know now, for

instance, that individual robots increase productivity by a mere 10-12 per cent. The use of robots in small-batch production is therefore inexpedient: preparing software for a robot will cost a small factory more than the employment of a skilled worker. Of course, when it comes to handling heavy and red-hot machine parts or health-hazardous materials a robot is of great help. But the fact remains that a sharp increase in productivity which all CMEA countries are now working for can be brought about only by flexible production systems of the kind described above. These are not the ultimate limit of technological progress, however. Next comes the combination of two elements—automated production and computer-aided design.

The Director of the Plovdiv Branch of the Central Scientific Instrument-Making Automation Laboratory (CSIMAL) under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Krystiu Vylchek Morev, is a very young man. I recalled Ivan Iliyev's story about a group of engineers, the "oldest" one aged 32, who brilliantly coped with an assignment to design a sophisticated assembly robot.... Morev explained to me that his laboratory's job was to develop computer systems for research and design, called computer-aided design, or CAD in short. In a CAD system, a computer selects the optimum solutions on its own, makes working drawings of machine parts, marks out dimensions and tolerances, and sets programmes to numerically controlled machine-tools.

Subsequently, all this information goes to the CAM (computer-aided manufacturing) system, which turns out the finished products. Errors (let alone spoilage) are ruled out. Incidentally, the CAD system makes it possible to find out, already at the drawing board stage, how the loads will be distributed over components in actual operation.

In Plovdiv, computer-aided design was introduced in 1984, the local specializations being mechanical engineering, construction and electronics. Although Morev sounded rather modest, the Plovdiv Branch of the CSIMAL has already achieved tangible results. It has developed a computer-aided system for the designing of radio circuits. At a Plovdiv autumn fair the laboratory demonstrated a printed circuit board (a substrate bearing solid-state resistors, diodes, capacitors, etc.) for personal and mini-computers, designed with the aid of a computer.

In his office, crowded with box-like electronic sets, Morev put the computer-aided design process in a nutshell for me.

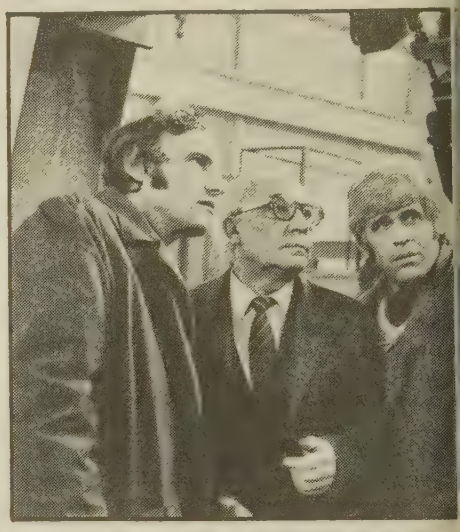
"A computer-aided design system is grouped round the graphics station, which is the designer's workplace. The designer has two visual display units in front of him. The station is connected to a computer. There can be several such stations, all connected to one computer. The designer decides, in principle, on the elements and size of a printed circuit board, and transmits this information to the computer from his station. The system analyzes the proposed circuit and simulates its operation in order to find out whether it behaves the way the designer intends it to. Finally, the CAD sets the element location and inter-element coupling pattern, codes the circuit design on magnetic or punch tape and delivers the data necessary for making the mask (the template to which circuits are printed on substrates).

* * *

What are the tasks facing Bulgarian robotics engineering? Ivan Iliyev defines them this way: "To develop fast, to introduce fast, and to sell fast." And "fast" is increasingly coming to mean "together." In 1982, the CMEA countries signed a General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation in Developing Industrial Robots and in Organizing Their Joint and Specialized Production. Quite a few bilateral agreements have since been signed. The Plovdiv laboratory cooperates with its counterparts under the Siberian Branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Bulgarian and Soviet robot-makers have divided up their assignments, each side specializing in developing robots of certain kinds. Soviet and Bulgarian scientists have jointly developed the RB-251 welding robot. On October 23, 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev was in Bulgaria on a visit, an agreement was signed on the establishment of the Beroea—Krasny Proletary Research and Production Amalgamation.

This cooperation is of vital importance not only for the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria, but for all socialist countries. The 41st CMEA session, held in December 1985, adopted the Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress of the CMEA member states for the period up to the year 2000. The Programme provides for the acceleration of scientific and technological progress, intensive development of the socialist states' economies and attainment of the world's highest productivity indicators. In other words, the CMEA countries' products are to become more competitive on the world market and their export potential is to be increased.

One of the ways of achieving this goal lies in the comprehensive automation of production through an extensive use of robots, and in combining complete factory-shop and plant automation with computer-aided designing. According to preliminary estimates, flexible production systems will raise productivity two- or even fivefold, and reduce the time and expenses required to bring new products to a commercial status by 30 to 50 per cent. The attending personnel will be reduced, and conditions will be provided for more creative work. So what are the advantages of the CAD system? It is expected to increase the efficiency of design systems 7-10 times and to reduce energy consumption drastically. As for quality, CAD systems will improve the technical and economic characteristics of the objects designed by 10 to 25 per cent.



At the Beroea plant technical inspector K. Volchev, Soviet engineer F. Vladimirov, and fitter S. Sandev are checking a gantry manipulator before shipment to Krasnodar in the U.S.S.R.

TASS photo

This is exactly what is needed to bring about a dramatic acceleration of economic growth, to forge ahead. The CMEA countries are to increase their industrial robot fleet to 200,000 towards the year 1990. By that time, the U.S.S.R. alone will have 3,000 CAD systems and about 2,000 flexible production systems. So the experience gained by plants like Beroea will stand us in good stead.

L. YELIN
Our Special Correspondent
Stara Zagora — Plovdiv — Moscow

Brazil is "Running"

From Our Special Correspondent
VICTOR TSOPPI

The well-known sociologist Helio Jaguaribe, director of the Institute of Political and Social Studies, believes that if Brazil keeps up its annual 6 per cent economic growth rate—which is quite feasible—while retaining its present financial and social contrasts then by the end of this century it would have a bigger GNP than such members of the Seven as Canada, Britain and Italy. True, it would have the same level of poverty as today and 20 per cent unemployment. That, in his opinion, is unacceptable. He believes that a "new social pact" is needed. Exactly what kind of compact would depend on the answers to two questions: "How much are the privileged classes prepared to pay for social peace?" and "To what extent should the disinherited limit their claims?"

Gentle River

Today about 10 per cent of Brazil's national budget is allocated for "social investments." A much larger percentage is needed, but is regarded as unattainable so far. Shortly before I interviewed André Gustavo Stumpf, editor-in-chief of the capital's Jornal de Brasilia, he published an article analyzing the situation after the adoption of the economic stabilization plan.

"The adoption of the plan," he noted, "is a political act of major importance. My country has an enormous potential for development along an independent road. The more definitely our development is oriented on meeting the people's urgent needs, the more successful it will be. I think that is the meaning of the present changes. They should go even farther in the economic sphere so as to bring radical changes for the better in the social sphere as well." His general conclusion is that the government has scored a major victory.

From time immemorial one of the Indian tribes of East Amazonia has called the great river the Rio Doce, or Gentle River. But the Indians never suspected that the river which fed them flows between what is literally banks of gold. In the mid-1960s, only two short decades ago, geologists came up with the staggering discovery that the whole vast region of East Amazonia, including the Rio Doce valley, is a gigantic treasure-house. In Carajas, in the state of Para, ore with an iron content of 80 per cent lies on the surface, and there is enough of it to last 500 years if extraction goes ahead at an annual rate of 50 million tons. There are deposits of manganese, nickel, copper, bauxite, gold, uranium and precious gems. All of this, moreover, in fabulous quantities. Plus the practically inexhaustible water power resources of the Amazon and many other rivers. Then there are the timber riches, which can be exploited very profitably and renewed fairly easily because trees grow literally by the hour in that warm, humid climate. And last but not least, millions of hectares of fertile land.

When I paid a call on the board of the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (Doce River Valley Company) set up to exploit that region's natural riches, now Brazil's largest state-owned company, I was shown a documentary film about the rapid taming of the "Brazilian Siberia" by teams of workers using first-class machinery. Trains loaded with Carajas iron ore now run along a railway line hacked through the impassable jungle. At regular intervals along the way water is generously sprinkled over the railway cars to prevent ore dust from settling on the right of way and damaging the lush but vulnerable Amazonian plant life and disrupting the ecology. While the railway was being laid the new port of São Luis was built on the Atlantic coast.

Industrial plants for processing the mineral raw materials and valuable timber have sprung up along the railway line operating on electricity supplied by new hydropower plants. Cooperative plantations yielding phenomenal harvests of cereals, vegetables and fruit are being expanded on tracts wrested from the jungle at the cost of incredible effort. Plant breeders, zoologists, geologists, botanists, bee experts and meteorologists are at work in the research centres set up to fathom the many secrets of the Amazon basin, whose development has only begun. This is not at all simple when you consider that the foreign corporations and local industrialists associated with them are concerned first and foremost with higher profits and intend to continue their unhampered plunder of Brazil's national wealth.

Gold Synonymous with Blood

Before the Portuguese colonialists came, Brazil had five million indigenous inhabitants, the historians say. Today there are only 200,000. Will the march of progress spare the survivors?

Admittedly, there is something monstrous about putting the question that way. But it is one of the bitterest and most acute problems facing Brazil today. The rapid opening up of huge areas has disrupted the harmony between inner Brazil's Indian tribes and their environment. They had lived in the depths of the jungles, hermetically sealed off, as it were, from the rest of the human race, with their good and evil gods, with their customs and prehistoric tools. They were still living that way twenty, ten and even five years ago. Visitors to that region from the outside world often learned of their existence accidentally, during aerial prospecting for mineral deposits. The geologists found iron ore, and they also discovered clay huts roofed with palm fronds.

On the territory given over to it, the Companhia Vale do Rio Doce has done everything possible to prevent the shock of contact with civilization from harming or destroying the Indian tribes, and to smooth over the introduction to a new world, with its boons and its evils. The Companhia erected modern dwellings for them, taught them farming and building skills and the Brazilian Portuguese language. It gave them medical treatment. The doctors were horrified to see that a germ which urban dwellers easily coped with could kill off hundreds of Indians who lacked any immunity against it. In short, changing the life, mentality and psychology of the Indian tribes is at best an agonizing process, but when this is done systematically and thoughtfully a measure of success is possible.

But the Indian tribes that live in the hinterland of the Amazon basin, far from the industrial development zones, are meeting with a different fate. A war is being waged on their lands, on their hunting grounds and along the

For the first instalment see No. 31.

banks of their rivers. It is a brutal war launched by hordes of independent gold prospectors against the centuries-old owners of these lands with their latent treasures. Estimates of the number of prospectors who have flocked to the tropical Klondike ranges from 450,000 to 8 million. Most of them are landless peasants who have lost all hopes of ever getting even a patch of ploughland from the big landowners. Equipped with a pickaxe, bucket and sieve, they headed for the jungles, driven by their last hope, the hope of striking it rich.

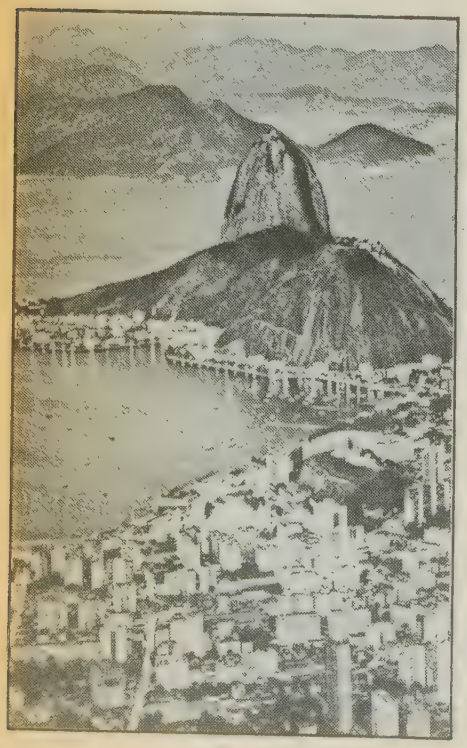
Fortune smiles on some of them. While I was in Brazil the newspapers reported that a prospector somewhere in the Roraima area had dug up a nugget weighing 100 kilogrammes. That inflames the imagination and spurs on the gold rush. It makes some men forget they are human beings.

In January of this year Brazil was shocked by the news that in the heart of the tropical forests, 1,800 kilometres northwest of Manaus, a town near the border with Colombia, a group of prospectors had massacred 60 Indians of the Tucano tribe who had had the audacity to defend themselves against the invaders. The prospectors were armed with rifles, tommy guns and machine guns, while the Indians had only bows and arrows and clubs—and desperation.

The slaughter led to a painstaking inquiry and hearings in parliament. Newspapers condemned the genocide of Indians that was taking place during unorganized extraction of mineral riches. This was not the first time the public was angered by reports that the powerful Gold Amazon Corporation was the backer of the prospectors. The latter go blind with rage when they come upon Indians who believe they have the right to the land and to the wealth hidden underneath it. The corporation buys gold dust and nuggets, diamonds and other precious gems smeared with the blood of the owners of those lands. It supplies prospectors with gear and provisions and maintains an army of professional cutthroats whose motto is "a handful of gold is worth more than a handful of Indians." The English word "gold" instead of the Portuguese "ouro" in the name of that transnational corporation is indicative: it belongs to American and South African capitalists.

Is the life-and-death struggle in the Brazilian jungles an extreme form of racism? No, not at all. One must look elsewhere for the root of the tragedy of the indigenous population, the Indians, who, a Brazilian bishop has said, are "clad by the sun" and who are threatened with extinction in their futile attempts to defend themselves against the gold seekers. The prospectors are not racists. They are mulattoes, whites and blacks, each a gambler looking for his Eldorado. They are even worse off than the Indians. They have nothing behind them in the poverty-stricken villages which they abandoned without regrets. And they have nothing ahead of them but the illusory glitter of the accursed divine metal. They thirst for gold, and not for the blood of Indians. But gold and blood have become synonymous words inscribed, although in invisible letters, on the Gold Amazon trademark.

Rio de Janeiro is attractive for all.



Peacock, Peachick, and Singing Rooster

"And under each ramshackle roof you will find a family's own joys, its own little mice, its own destiny." These lines written long ago by that fine Soviet poet Iosif Utkin came to mind when friends took me to see one of Rio de Janeiro's shantytowns. There are shantytowns, too, in West European cities and on the outskirts of large African cities. Their names differ but essentially they are the same: they are all slum districts.

Rio's shantytowns, called favelas, stand vertically. First, the ocean winds send waves across the endless long beach behind which stretches the equally endless city. After passing through the palisade of dazzling skyscrapers and grand Portuguese baroque edifices and bringing a breath of freshness to them in exchange for all the smells given off by restaurants, traffic and flowerbeds, they peter out against the not very high rocky ridge which is Rio's back wall. The city streets come to a dead end at the wall.

Here the shantytowns rise upwards, clinging to the wall, and overlooking Rio's skyscrapers. The ramshackle roof of one hut is often the ramshackle foundation of another one. Winding paths serve as streets.

The favela I was shown was originally three shantytowns, named Peacock, Peachick and Singing Rooster, which had long since merged. A terrible tragedy befell their inhabitants in 1983 when, after a heavy rain, an overhanging rocky ledge collapsed and slid, crushing many shacks and their inhabitants. Few of them survived.

I learned all this from my guide, Helena Distelfeld, a young schoolteacher who was also a social worker on the municipal staff. She looks after the hygienic conditions, calls a doctor to treat the ailing and reports cases of extreme want to the authorities.

"After that awful rockslide," she told me, "Governor Leonel Brizola of the state of Rio de Janeiro ordered that a lift be built there. The lift runs through the groove formed on the slope by the rockslide. That decision has considerably alleviated the conditions of the people living in the undamaged sections of the three favelas."

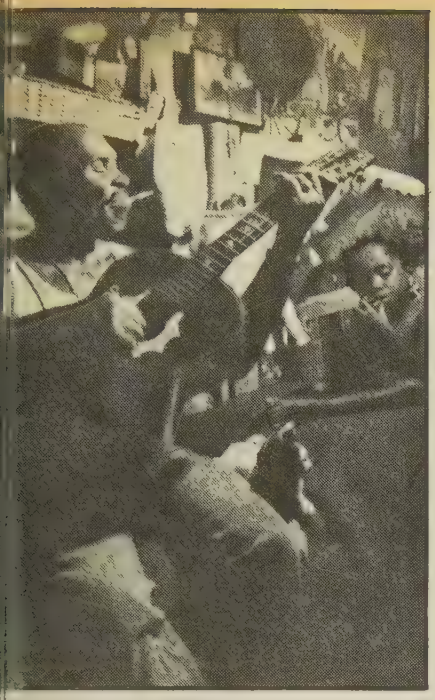
"The lift has brought about a revolution in the life of the people of Peacock, Peachick and Singing Rooster," said the man who designed and built it, Aldo Iovino, an Italian engineer who has been living in Rio de Janeiro for many years. "There were people here who had not gone outside the favelas for years, even decades. The feeble and the aged were simply frightened at the thought of having to climb hundreds of steps to return to their homes."

We entered the large iron lift, together with a crowd of other passengers.

"The lift is free of charge," Helena said. "Otherwise no one will use it. The people here count every copper, and if they had to pay a fare they would have continued to walk uphill the way they used to."

"The lift can carry a load of two and a half tons," Aldo Iovino said. "There are five stops: Holy Roman—named in my honour," he added with a smile, "Peachick, Necklace (named after a bright-feathered local bird with a neck band), Heron and New Street."

We got out at Heron. A clean-swept paved path ran along the terrace. As we passed a small open-air schoolhouse under an awning the teacher, a plump mulatto, came out to give Helena a hug and to say that hardly any of the pupils were ever absent now that they all received free school lunches. We paused at a snack bar—a long table made up of wooden boards—and an elderly black man in shorts poured each of us a glass of colorless juice which he



A rare happy moment in a favela shack.

squeezed from sugar cane. A well-built young man sat on the ground nearby in a state of complete oblivion, his head on his knees. "Too much cachaça," my companions explained. That is the name of a cheap alcoholic drink. From the open windows there came the wailing of a child, the voice of a radio announcer, sambo music and the smells of cooking. Mongrels dozed in shady corners.

Below, against the backdrop of the boundless blue ocean, stretched the amazingly beautiful, modern and majestic city of palaces. From the high vantage point of Peacock, Peachick and Singing Rooster we could get a good view, through the gaps between the shanties, of Rio, the miraculous city, as all tourist guides call it. I felt I could stand there forever, admiring the magnificent view.

"Can Rio de Janeiro get along without the favelas? No. If the people of the favelas stopped going down to the city to work, the city would die."

The speaker was Carlos Alberto de Oliveira, a tall, elegantly dressed black man with a goatee, one of the leading figures in the Democratic Labour Party. He received me in the city hall. Oliveira had started out as a newspaperman and headed the local journalists' union for a time, and then became a state secretary for labour and housing. When he became a candidate for the Constituent Assembly (the elections will be held in November) he resigned from his post, as required by law, but continued to do the work. There are always many cariocas, as Rio residents are called, in the waiting room of his office. They come in throngs to Oliveira, whom everybody addresses as CAO, for advice and help.

"There are 400 favelas, with a total population of a million and a half," CAO continued. "Most of them have neither a trade nor a steady job. They make up a labour reserve that is practically inexhaustible, even for a city as large as Rio. Moreover, it is a reserve that is being constantly replenished. People swarm to Rio, most of them landless peasants, in the hope of earning something and getting along somehow. I am not exaggerating when I say our city would be lost without them. Rio needs bricklayers, manual workers, garbage collectors, gardeners, domestic help, and so on. After working all day to keep up the well-being of those who are in a position to hire them, they return, in the evening, to their slums which are really a disgrace.

"What is the way out? Urbanizing the favelas? Well, yes, we're doing a lot in that direction. We're laying water pipes and electricity lines. We're building houses—not luxurious ones but at least real houses. We're building quite a few schools, standard-type structures of prefabricated sections which are easily assembled. They were designed by Oscar Niemeyer. The municipal authorities are seeking funds to train and pay teachers, and what is more important, to provide the children with school lunches. For only then will parents let their sons and daughters go to school. Otherwise they will have to send the kids out into the streets to earn money in whatever way they can, or to steal, just as long as they don't go hungry. Many of my young countrymen are still suffering and dying from hunger, above all those who are black, like me."

"Does this mean that inequality has to do not only with property but also with race?"

"Unfortunately, yes. For example, who are the people that are leaving Bahia, a region that is incapable of feeding its people? Blacks, who make up 80 per cent of the population of that state. And where do they go? To Rio de Janeiro, to São Paulo, in a word, to the big cities where, as a rule, they lead a miserable life. This social stratum has the highest infant mortality rate and the shortest life expectancy."

"But you managed to get an education and to rise to a place in society, didn't you?"

"I belong to what is called the middle class of blacks, a class which is slowly growing, although it suffers from racial prejudices. And quite insulting ones, too, I can assure you. But on the scale of the nation as a whole, to whose formation the descendants of slaves brought from Africa made a considerable, if not a decisive contribution, the existence of this middle class doesn't really mean much. In the context of the democratization that has begun in Brazilian society a broad and radical agrarian reform is needed. The vicious spiral of overcrowding of the cities with their hungry, homeless and unemployed paupers can only be broken by giving land to millions of people who are constantly seeking a livelihood in our country, one of the richest in the world. Otherwise we won't cope with the social tensions."

For the sake of clarity it can be said that there are two Brazils divided by a bottomless chasm of class antagonisms. On the one hand, there is the affluent minority, and on the other, the majority for whom life is a continual

Hurray for our new school!
Photos from Manchete (Brazil) and the National Geographic (U.S.A.)

struggle for survival. The bridges across the chasm are very shaky indeed. Politically, day-to-day life in Brazil is an increasingly acute class struggle. This means that each of the political parties must not only proclaim its credo but also take its stand on one or another side of the deep chasm.

The role of Brazil's Communist Party is growing steadily and very noticeably. It is represented today in many local councils and in parliament. During the military power the Communists were forced to operate underground. They were persecuted, and many were killed. Today they have the right to appear on TV programmes and to publish newspapers. The Brazilian public is paying more and more attention to the voice of the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist party.

Here is how Roberto Freiri, a congress deputy, and a member of the Executive Commission of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party, defines his party's course:

"There are now two political alliances in Brazil. The members of one of them want to preserve their

privileges and positions. The members of the other group are working for a broader democracy. And it is in this latter group, which has pledged to carry out changes, that the Communists want to play a leading role."

Roberto Freiri emphasized that the Brazilian Communist Party will continue to support the government of President José Sarney. It is carrying out its commitments in the main, he thinks, although the Communists are somewhat disturbed by the government's retreat on several issues, primarily with regard to the pace and scale of implementing an agrarian reform.

A Gargantuan City

Quite a few cities in the world are now called a megalopolis. São Paulo, with a population of about 18 million (the suburbs included) and expected to exceed 24 million by the end of the century, is a super-megalopolis. An air bridge links Rio de Janeiro with São Paulo, with flights every half hour. The plane passes above a forest of skyscrapers, then finds a narrow lane through them and touches down at an airport not far from the centre of São Paulo. The traveller is immediately stunned by a sense of the city's gigantic size. When you stand at the bottom of a deep canyon of avenues you have to lean your head way back in order to see a rectangle of sky. You feel you need a gas mask because it is difficult to breathe: the air in São Paulo contains more factory smoke and car exhausts than oxygen.

This is a Gargantuan city of Gargantuan industrial concentration and Gargantuan stresses, of Gargantuan wealth and Gargantuan poverty. It is the capital of a land of contrasts, and these are not only Brazilian contrasts.

"São Paulo is a favourite city of the imperialist transnationals," Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, chairman of the Working People's Party, told me. "These corporations flourish here as they do nowhere else in the world. Brazil is proud of its rapid industrial development. The credit for this goes first of all to the working class. However, when you compare its living standard with that of the workers in the seven capitalist countries after which Brazil is listed and in the countries it has overtaken, you'll see that our living standard is much lower. Actually, its living standard is about the same as that of workers in the most backward African countries. Why is this so? Because international capital and the local capital linked with it do whatever they like with us as long as they profit from it. So far, those capitalists are the only ones who have benefited from our economic achievements. The majority of the working people haven't gained anything."

"This shows a lack of justice, to put it mildly."

"It is, in fact, despotism. How much does an average Brazilian employed at a plant owned by an American, West German or French company 'cost'? A third—only a third—of what his counterpart working at the same kind of plant in the United States, Federal Germany or France costs. This despite the fact that the Brazilian's productivity is as high, if not higher. So, the foreign owners derive incomparably greater profits here than they do at home. And since they enjoy a kind of extraterritoriality, they can use this money as they see fit. Frankly speaking, this is a brutal and aggressive policy of exploiting our people and plundering our country's wealth."

"You are a pessimist, Lula."

"On the contrary. I'm a proletarian. I was a lathe operator. I know the workingman's life at first hand, and not just by hearsay or from reading books. The fact that I belong to the working class prevents me from being pessimistic, from merely contemplating on the sad realities, from giving up the struggle. I'm quite convinced that our country has all that is necessary for bringing about radical social and economic changes in favour of the working people."

"A much desired but nevertheless distant goal?"

"I hope it will be achieved in my lifetime. And I have grounds for hope. The main thing is that the class consciousness of the workers, both here in São Paulo and elsewhere in Brazil, is growing very noticeably. Metalworkers, car workers, textile mill operators and rural proletarians are beginning to understand their role in society, the meaning of their work and the meaning of the exploitation of their labour."

The Soviet Union has many sincere, loyal friends in Brazil. But there are also many people there who know nothing at all about our country. The imperialist media of mass misinformation are working overtime to make sure that this ignorance is preserved. While in Rio de Janeiro I was greatly helped in my work by René Capriles, a well-known journalist and literary critic. At that time local newspapers, in particular, the Brazilian Communist Party's weekly Voz da Unidade, published articles in which Capriles gave an in-depth analysis of the work of the 27th CPSU Congress.

While in São Paulo I met another remarkable and very likeable person, Gilda de Barros Pereira, who is also a journalist. Thanks to her efforts, articles about the Soviet economy, science and art, and about Soviet life, are appearing more and more frequently in newspapers in Brazil's "industrial metropolis." Gilda arranged an interview for me with Daniel Maroun, director of Duferco, a big import and export company which has contacts with Soviet foreign trade associations and is seeking to expand them.

* * *

Brazilian truck drivers like to write mottos and sayings on their rear bumpers. For example, "Love comes to you only if you are able to love," or "I saw how the driver who once laughed at me cried," or simply, as we say in the Soviet Union: "Don't pass me unless you are sure." On a sharp mountain bend, somewhere near Ouro Prêto, an old town which dates back to the times of Portuguese rule, I read the following on a truck loaded with sacks of charcoal: "I run while I live so as not to die in debt."

I've often recalled these words. Brazil is "running." It is running to pay off its colossal debts to rapacious foreign usurers. To prevent the hungry from dying. To carry out its obligations to the peasants, who still lack land, and to the Indians, who have to be saved. To the people of the favelas which do not have electricity. To factory workers who do not want to be slaves of American, West German and other corporations. To the present and future generations. And to prove that it is capable of fulfilling its historical mission.

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Please enter my subscription to the English edition of NEW TIMES for 1 year (2, 3 years). Enclosed you will find . . . . . in cash (cheque, postal order)

Name . . . . . .

Address . . . . . .

Date . . . . . Signature . . . . . .

TAKING UP A POINT

Why is the retirement age so low in the U.S.S.R.! Particularly if there is such a labour shortage in your country! Does this mean that under socialism people are worn out at an early age and are no longer fit for work!

Federico MINELLI
Turin, Italy

VLADIMIR BABKIN, First Deputy Minister for Social Security of the Russian Federation, replies:

The question you have raised, Signor Minelli, will surely puzzle many of the Soviet readers of New Times. It might even evoke a smile on their part. Your supposition is indeed surprising.

The present retirement age, which is low as compared with that in certain Western countries, is a major achievement of our socialist society. And we are rightly proud of it. The law which povides that females are eligible for pensions at the age of 55 and males at the age of 60 was passed way back in the late 1920s. Since that time the law has remained unchanged, and the age at which one is eligible for a pension has not been risen.

Furthermore, under the legislation currently in force there are categories of working people who can retire on pension five or even ten years earlier than others. These categories include miners, metal-makers, workers at chemical industries and females employed in the textile industry. . . .

It is worth noting, Signor Minelli, that even in some of the highly developed Western countries, such as the U.S.A. and the F.R.G., where the average life expectancy of 70 is practially the same as that in the U.S.S.R., retirement age is much higher—65 for both males and females. It would be fair to say that in these countries people have to work until they are physically exhausted.

Our pension retirement age is so low for several reasons. A primary factor is the humanistic considerations, profound respect for the working man. In Soviet society it is believed that the possibility to stop working at the proper age, if not in the prime of one's life, at least not in one's declining years, gives a middle-aged person optimism, a sense of confidence in the future and even a sense of independence. Often a middle-aged person who has devoted himself to his work would like to take an easier job for which he would not have to exert all of his strength, one which would suit his personal and social interests and inclinations. A job which would at the same time allow him to be economically independent. And he knows that the pension he has earned guarantees him the choice to work he would like or devote more time to his home, family, or social work. And he can combine these activities with the leisure and rest.

It has turned out that most Soviet people who have reached retirement age prefer to continue at their regular place of work during the first few years they are eligible for pensions. As a rule, seven out of ten do not switch over to other jobs. These workers are efficient, display a creative approach to their work, and willingly share their experience with the coming generation. In my opinion, this is of fundamental importance. And under Soviet law a worker cannot be discharged only because he has reached retirement age.

To put it in a nutshell, Soviet pensioners are not spent steam, a squeezed-out lemon or waste products. They enjoy their full rights as members of society and actively uphold a civic stand. They have the financial means to live well, for although their pension does not assure them a life of luxury, it is quite adequate. But they, nevertheless, regard work as the main purpose and main stimulus of life.

However, material incentives are very important. The overwhelming majority of working pensioners who earn wages or salaries receive their full pension as well. This rule applies to all workers, foremen, doctors, nurses, rural schoolteachers and people working in many other trades and professions. There are people who prefer to work shorter hours or a shorter working week. And some prefer to work at home.

I would also like to draw your attention to the fact that Soviet pensioners both those who work and those who do not, enjoy full rights as citizens. These rights are guaranteed not only by law, but in practice as well. Like all Soviet citizens they are guaranteed free medical aid, the right to housing, to active participation in social life and in the solution of social questions. They are not regarded as redundant or as a burden to the state. This is because the state is their state too. And no one has the right to encroach upon their human dignity. Perhaps this is most important of all.

In Soviet society the retirement age is much younger than that which is known as physiological old age. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. adopted in 1977 has taken this fact into account, and has replaced the earlier wording "old-age pension" with "retirement pension." This change was demanded by many pensioners who did not consider themselves to be old.

There have been many new developments in the country. The 27th CPSU Congress set for the Soviet people fundamentally new tasks which, when accomplished, will produce radical changes in all spheres of Soviet society—in the economy, in social life and in spiritual life. The human factor has been assigned a key role. This implies that people themselves will play a decisive role in the country's accelerated progress and that this progress will be in the interests of all people.

The country as a whole is engaged in the restructuring of our life. Millions of pensioners are devoting themselves to the effort. If you observe these indefatigable people eligible for pensions at work, Signor Minelli, you can hardly say that they are "worn out" or "exhausted."

Soviet society is motivated by lofty humanitarian ideals and principles. No wonder in this country pensioners, men and women who have honestly done their duty by society, are treated with deep respect and solicitude. ■

That Enigmatic Rook

These days all chess fans are focussing their attention on the Ballroom of London's Park Lane Hotel, where Garry Kasparov, the current world chess champion, is engaged in a return match with former title-holder Anatoly Karpov.

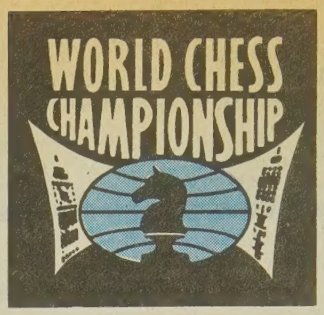
British chess players and fans were delighted when London was selected as the venue for the first half of the match. Indeed, David Jarrett, President of the British Chess Federation, had thanked FIDE (the World Chess Federation), the Soviet Chess Federation and the two contenders for their choice. He said that everything would be done to create the best conditions for the match, adding that he hoped the match would promote Anglo-Soviet friendship and cooperation.

Why was London chosen? The British have a rich chess tradition and their capital has been the venue of many prestigious tournaments. At different times all world chess champions and claimants have played there. However, there has never been a world chess championship in Britain, and so now British chess fans have seen their dreams come true.

The current duel is in the nature of an anniversary marking the centenary of the first official world chess championship, which was held in the United States in 1886. At that match Wilhelm Steinitz beat Johannes Hermann Zukertort to become the world chess champion. One more brief excursion into chess history to show how swiftly the popularity of this absorbing game has grown. FIDE was founded at the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris. Then it comprised only about ten national federations. Today some 130 states are represented at its annual congresses. Chess players of all five continents are united under the FIDE motto of "Gens una sumus."

Interest in this new encounter between the world's two top chess players is very great indeed. Reports on the match lead sporting news and there is little doubt that in the coming two months and more they will keep chess fans in a state of suspense.

The Soviet chess school has won unreserved universal acclaim for its creative style. The many victories it has gained internationally are now



taken for granted. I would call the present Kasparov-Karpov match gala performance in which the two will no doubt brilliantly demonstrate the art of Soviet chess.

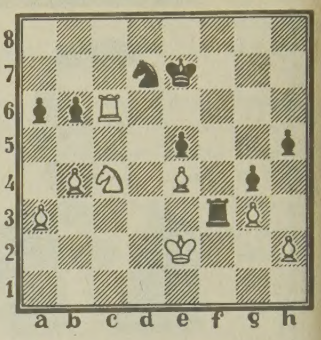
It is a long time since such illustrious grandmasters have crossed swords. Both have invariably placed first in all other tournaments. Thus far they have played 75 games which have given both an excellent knowledge of one another's style.

In this current duel two different styles of attack may be noted: the rapid tempo of Kasparov and the no-haste system of Karpov. All chess lovers know what beautiful combinations the current chess champion can devise. Indeed, in the very first game he gave an astounding display of virtuoso technique. But we will not be surprised if Karpov, who prefers a methodical positional style, will suddenly be transformed into a daring adept of tricky combinations in his desire to regain the title.

Three games were played in the first week and they all ended in a draw. However, this is not at all the calm "grandmaster" type of draw.

I personally think the second game the most exciting. Taking advantage of Karpov's overly calm manner in the end game, Kasparov built up pressure to a dramatic high point on the 39th move. Subsequent analysis showed that with one powerful move Kasparov could have won but labouring under time pressure he failed to spot that option of moving his rook from the sixth to the seventh rank.

The situation on the board in the second game after Karpov's 38th move for Black was as follows:



Kasparov's 39th move was N-K3. Karpov retaliated with N-B3. The 40th moves were R×P for White and N×P for Black. After Kasparov's 41st move of R×P, the game was adjourned.

When the game was resumed on the following day Karpov has responsed with the move R-B7ch, which he had enclosed in a sealed envelope handed to the referee on the previous day.

The game then took the following course:

41. ... R-B7ch. 42. K—Q3, N—Q3. 43. R-R7ch, K—K3. 44. R—R7, P—K5ch. 45. K—B3, N—N4ch. 46. K—B4, N×Pch. 47. K—Q4, R×P. 48. R—R6ch, KQ2. 49. N—Q5, P—R5. 50. R×P, R×R. 51. P×R, PN3. 52. N—B4, N—B7ch, at which point the game was drawn.

Will Garry Kasparov retain the crown? Will Anatoly Karpov regain the title? We shall not hazard a guess when the two players are of such outstanding stature, the more so since at the time of writing they had finished only their fourth game which Kasparov won.

David BRONSTEIN
international grandmaster

World chess champion Kasparov making a move against title challenger Karpov.

Reuters-TASS photo

Our address: Pushkin Square, Moscow, GSP, 103782, U.S.S.R. Telephones: 229-88-72, 209-07-67

Publisher: Trud, Moscow ● Published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech ● Telex: 411164a NEWT SU, 411164b NEWT SU, 411164c NEWT SU ● Cables: New Times Pushkin Square Moscow ● Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

NEW TIMES is brought to you by AEROFLOT

AN AIR ROUTE VIA THE SOVIET UNION

offers a convenient shortcut from Europe to Southeast Asia and the Far East

with an optional stopover in Moscow, where you can take a glimpse at Soviet life, visit famous theatres and museums, and see the sights of the city.
For details write to any Aeroflot office in your country.

FLY AEROFLOT!

A nanny.

INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Photo by

RAM DHAMIJA

(India)

ИНДЕКС 70622 НА АНГЛИЙСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ